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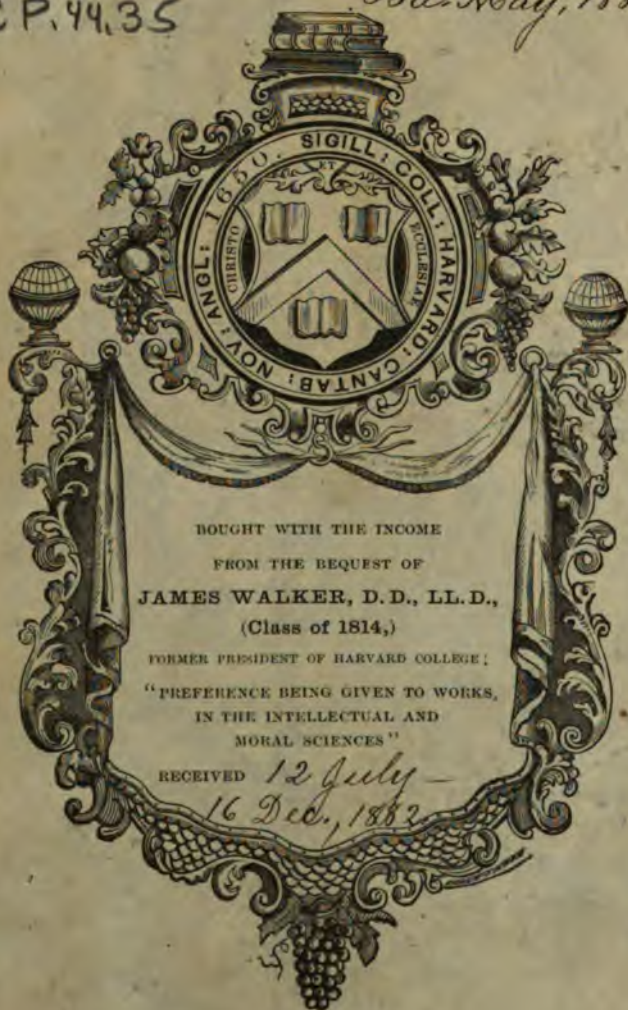
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THE EXPOSITOR.

THE ORAL AND THE WRITTEN GOSPELS.

It is very natural that, until we are compelled to reflect on it, we should assume the Scriptures of the New Testament to have always occupied the place in the ministry and affection of the Church which we cheerfully assign to them at the present day. For want of reflection, we instinctively conceive of the primitive disciples as holding the New Testament in their hands, taking texts from it, preaching from it, or reading it for their private edification. And, therefore, it cannot fail to surprise us when we first hear or discover that, for two or three generations after the death of Christ, nay, till toward the close of the second century after the birth of Christ, the Church had *no* New Testament; that the first generation of disciples must have been passing away before even the first Gospel was written; and that at least three or four generations must have quitted the scene before the scattered Christian Scriptures were collected into a single volume.

Yet this is the exact state of the case, as we see the very moment we begin to examine and reflect. The first Gospels, St. Matthew's and St. Mark's, were certainly not written till between fifty or sixty years after Christ was born, the Gospel of St. Luke not till between sixty and seventy years after, the Gospel of St. John not till between ninety and a hundred years after, and the New Testament Canon was not formed, the various Gospels and Epistles

were not collected into a book, till nearly two hundred years after Christ was born. So that thousands and myriads of the early believers must have died in the faith of the Gospel, who had never read a single page of those Gospels in which we ourselves have found Christ and his salvation !

What then ? Were they without a Gospel because they had no written Gospel ? No ; they had the oral or spoken Gospel, delivered to them by eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word. Are our Gospels the more imperfect and unreliable because they were not written till long after the Son of Man had ascended into heaven ? No ; they are the more perfect and the more reliable, the better adapted to the great work they have done and are still doing in the world.

Let us realize as vividly as we can the character and position of the Apostles and Evangelists after the death and resurrection of the Lord. A new revelation had been made to them, a new *uncovering* of the thoughts and purposes of God. The veil had been stript from Moses and the Prophets. They saw in clear vision what God had been doing for men in the past, how He had made all men for Himself, how He had been training them for the kingdom of heaven. His eternal grace, his goodwill to men, his hatred of the evils by which they were afflicted and degraded, his fixed purpose to redeem them from evil and its miseries, and to raise them into a life of righteousness, charity, and peace, all these were now disclosed in the word—in the life, death, and triumph—of Jesus Christ. For them, the long-promised redemption, the kingdom of heaven, had come ; and for the world. The world, as they thought in the first ardour of their faith, only needed to hear the good news in order to receive them, only needed to see the kingdom in order to enter it. They felt that the common routine of life was for ever broken up, that a spiritual revolution had been set on foot which could not fail to dethrone the lords many and

gods many who had long usurped the seat and place of God. "The coming age" was come at last. Old things had passed away; all things were to become new. The "former fashion of the present world" was gone for ever; a new world was rising out of it, in which nothing hateful and unclean could dwell. As they saw city after city, and nation after nation, accepting the word of this new and better life, they never dreamed of the long conflict between life and death which had still to be waged before death could be swallowed up of life. For them, the end was at hand, the final triumph of Christ at the very door. What need, then, was there for them to write, with unaccustomed pens, elaborate histories of his first coming when He was so soon to come again? All they had to do was to prepare the way for his coming, by going out into all the world and preaching his gospel to every creature.

The very fulness of hope by which the early Church was inspired rendered, or seemed to render, it unnecessary for them to write annals for future ages. And this conclusion would be confirmed by the training and habits of their lives. The whole bent of the time, at least in Judea, was adverse to written, favourable to oral, instruction. Tradition was the habit of their race and age. The rabbis, to whom they had listened before they came to Christ, had made it a rule—a rule by which we have lost much that would have been of grave value to us—that "*nothing* should be committed to writing." To these rabbis the Old Testament was the only book. The voice of the teacher might be used to interpret, to explain, to enforce its lessons, but nothing could or must be added to it. Lest they should even seem to make additions to it, or in any degree distract attention from it, even the most gifted and learned rabbis refused to write out the wise sayings that fell from their lips: the only indulgence to which the love of name and fame could prompt them was to compress the thoughts of a lifetime into a single saying, so

rich in meaning, so picturesque or polished in form, that their disciples would pass it down from lip to lip, generation after generation.

What the Apostles knew before they sat at the feet of Jesus was only, therefore, what they had learned from reading the Old Testament, or hearing it read, and from listening to the wise Rabbinical sayings which were quoted from age to age. And they were simple and unlettered Galileans; many of them probably could hardly write at all; none of them had that erudition which prompts a man to cast his thoughts into the literary and artistic forms which have been the study of his life.

And if they *could* write, yet why should they write books? *Christ* had written no book. He had simply spoken the truth.

When He gave them their commission, He did not bid them write narratives, but *preach*—preach the Gospel to every creature. While they did that, they were discharging the ministry He had entrusted to them, a ministry for which they were qualified not only by the effusion of the Holy Ghost, but also by the whole training and all the habits of their lives. Why should they leave that ministry for a task to which Christ had not called them, and for which they had not been trained?

They had no motive for it. Their feeling was, “How shall men believe *without a preacher*?” not, “How shall coming ages be instructed without a book?”

They cherished the most vivid image, the most lively recollection, of the life and teaching of Christ, although they had no chronicle, no gospel, in their hands; and they might well hope that the Spirit, who preserved that image in their hearts, would convey and fix it in the hearts of others.

The Gospel of Christ was spirit, not letter; it did not need to be inscribed whether on tables of stone or skins of

parchment, but to be written on the fleshy tablets of believing hearts.¹

There were many and sufficient reasons, then, why the Twelve should preach the Gospel rather than write Gospels. But do not all these reasons imply that, when they did write, their writings would be miserably inadequate, omitting much, or even adding much to the original tradition. When the first ardour of their faith cooled down with the lapse of years, when they discovered that it would be long before the world was won for Christ, and that narratives of his life and word were becoming necessary for the instruction of the Church, must not their recollection of what He said and did have grown imperfect? Must not the fresh hues and outlines of his image have grown dull and faint? Must not their written Gospels, therefore, be so much the more misleading and incomplete?

¹ These paragraphs had not been written more than a week when that very able and erudite book "*Onesimus*" by the author of "*Philochristus*" appeared. And in one of the letters of Onesimus to Artemidorus (pp. 89, 90) the following singularly confirmatory passage occurs:—"I now find that these very people who profess to worship Christus, and who recognise in him the fulfilment of ancient prophecies, nevertheless neglect, and I might almost say despise, all modern writings and records, insomuch that even at this present time no account of his words and deeds is committed to paper. Of this strange neglect there are several strange causes, and the first the strangest of all. You must know then that these people commonly believe that Christus will speedily return enthroned upon the clouds to make himself governor over the whole world; so that it is needless to write the words of one who himself will soon be speaking upon the earth. The second cause is, that there is a tradition among the Jews, current now for many hundreds of years, not to write new sacred books, but to hand down by word of mouth from teacher to pupil, through many generations, such traditions as may be needful. A third cause is, that Christus, having given them no clear and definite law, nor even many distinct precepts, his followers stand not upon his exact commandments; and indeed some fear not to say openly that they care little for the letter of his commandments, for that he himself promised to send them a certain good demon or spirit (even such a one as Socrates had) which should prompt and warn them what to do and what to avoid, and teach them how to defend themselves against their persecutors and before their judges. I have omitted a fourth and last cause which is not the least important: namely, that most of the followers of Christus have been, from the beginning of the sect, men of no education, but illiterate and scarce able to write at all, so that they naturally preferred speaking to writing. So much for the books, or no books, of the Christians."

No; but rather so much the *more* complete, adequate, instructive. If, in that long interval, they had ceased to *preach* Christ, then indeed their versions of his life and teachings might have suffered, as some have supposed they did suffer. But inasmuch as throughout that interval they were daily recounting the facts of his life and the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth, the delay would only give an added value to their writings. For, consider, when some great man expires, when some great life, full of wisdom and service, comes to a close, are we, is any man, all at once competent to describe and appraise it? to detect its unity, to select from a great mass of recollections and records that which is distinctive and peculiar to it, and to cast aside whatever would but dull and obscure our conception of it? We all know, so often as a great man dies we all feel, that time must elapse before any true and adequate conception of him can be formed and given, before any worthy biography of him can be written. We are too near him yet, too intimately interested in the movements in which he took part, too conscious of what was ordinary or objectionable in his life, too prejudiced for or against him, to give a fair and complete account of him. We must wait—and in proportion as he was really great, we must wait the longer—before we shall know him as he was. Which of us, for instance, did not know, even before he read it, that Froude's *Life of Carlyle* must be an inadequate life, must convey an impression of him which after ages will have to correct, simply because it has been written too soon? How many years must elapse after Mr. Gladstone's death before our prejudices for or against him will have died out, and his true character and place can be defined? Or, to take an historical example, by his own age Shakespeare was not rated much above the other poets and dramatists of the time. Within the last hundred years men who were unworthy so much as to read his poems have not

scrupled to recast and *improve* his dramas, and were absolutely thought to have improved them by the generation for which they wrote! It is only within the last fifty years that he has been generally acknowledged to be the world's supreme poet, not for an age, but for all time.

It takes time, then, for a world of little men to recognize the greatness of the great man whom God has given to them. Above all, it takes the sifting process of years to detach from the image men have formed of him, all that is excessive or unnecessary, to contract or expand it to its due dimensions, to select and preserve only those features which are really significant and indispensable.

Well, the Apostles were but men, though they were inspired men. And it is easy to see how the experience of years would qualify them to give us a more adequate and vital conception of the Master whom they loved. At first, no doubt, their memories would be *crowded* with incidents and sayings, each of which they held to be precious, each of which was most precious in itself, but many of which would nevertheless have hindered rather than have helped us to know the Lord. If the book St. John once had in his mind, the book in which *all* that Jesus said and did was recorded,—if this book, as big as the world, had been written, who could have read it? how could such a book as that have been a Gospel for all sorts and conditions of men? Before a serviceable Gospel could be written, it needed that the memory of the Apostles should be sifted; that out of the countless acts and words of the Lord Jesus the cardinal facts and sayings should be selected; that they should be taught what of all they remembered was indispensable to a true and complete story of their Divine Master, and what might with advantage be omitted and curtailed.

No doubt the Holy Spirit *could* have taught them all this in a day. No doubt the same Spirit could place all the needful deeds and words of Christ in *our* minds without

any help from holy men or holy books. But that is not the way in which the Divine Spirit works. He teaches *us* through the books Apostles have written. Why should He not also teach the Apostles what to insert in their books, and what to omit, by the experience of their ministry and the sifting lapse of years? As, moved by the Spirit, they preached the Gospel year after year, now recounting this fact and now that, now this divine discourse and again that, would they not gradually discern what facts and words *told* most on the hearts of their hearers and produced the most vivid and wholesome impression? As their experience accumulated with every trial, with every year, would not the Lord's life and work begin to take its due shape in their minds, to disclose its unity, to assume the very form in which it would be most potent on other minds? And when, at last, they were moved to write their Gospels, would they not naturally insert in them just that Gospel which they had learned to teach, just that selection of facts and words which they had found to stir the hearts of men most profoundly? Would they not thus be enabled to give us a more perfect Gospel than if they had followed Christ from the first, pen in hand, and had reported every act He did and every word He spoke?

This oral Gospel, then, on which the Church lived for many of its best and earliest years, was a most true and suitable preparation for the written Gospels which we read to-day. And this account of the growth of our sacred literature rests upon and is confirmed by all we learn, from the New Testament itself, of the course taken by the Apostles and their successors during the long interval between the resurrection of Christ and the close of the New Testament Canon. Every detail of their conduct indicates that they held it to be their work to ascertain by experiment what was the very Gospel in the words and acts of Christ; and that in doing this work they were guided by the Spirit

which He had promised to give them. They remained together in Jerusalem for some ten years, preaching the things that pertained to the Kingdom, taking of the things of Christ and shewing them to men ; and in these ten years of fellowship and common labour they had time to shape a common Gospel, a consistent and complete story, which we now find underlying the narratives of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and in part of St. John. They laid it down as the chief qualification of the Apostolic office that those who filled it must be men who had " accompanied with the Lord Jesus all the time he went in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John unto the day when he was taken up ; " and its chief function that they should " bear witness to his resurrection." Their common work was " continual prayer and the ministry of the word." All we know of most of them is that they did thus preach Christ, and that they wrought signs and wonders to arrest the attention of their hearers to the purport of their message. Most of them never wrote at all. None of them wrote for more than twenty years. But they all preached the common Gospel. And if we ask, Why? One of the early Fathers of the Church replies: " The Elders refrained from writing because they would not interrupt the care which they bestowed on teaching orally by the care of composition, nor expend in writing the time they wanted for the preparation of their addresses."

How little importance was attached to the written Gospels as compared with the traditional or oral Gospel, the Gospel spoken by the Apostles and handed down from lip to lip, may be inferred from the fact that for 150 years A.C. the word "Gospel" is never used to denote any mere writing, but is always reserved for that spoken summary of Christ's life and doctrine which all the Apostles held in common. There were many evangelists in that time, as we learn from St. Paul, many "gospellers," as we might

call them, were we to revive a good old English word; but the evangelist, the gosseller, was a man who always *preached* the Gospel, a man who, as St. Paul says, "kept the traditions" delivered to him by word of mouth, never a man who taught out of a book.

Indeed, for many years after the death of Christ, the primitive Church felt no need of *Christian* Scriptures. They heard the Gospel from the lips of Evangelists; and if they wanted Scriptures, had they not the Law and the Prophets, all of whom bore witness to Christ? And these Scriptures of the Old Testament were the Scriptures which the Apostles constantly quoted,—these and no other. Whether it be Peter who speaks, or Paul, you find him for ever basing himself on the Hebrew Scriptures—citing Moses, or David, Isaiah, Joel, or Jeremiah. Whether they speak to Jews or to Gentiles, the Apostles have no other Scriptures but these; but these are for ever in their hearts and on their lips.

Nay, even for two or three generations after most of the Apostles had been called to their rest, we find *the Gospel* constantly cited or taught, but not *the Gospels*, the Divine tradition, not the inspired writings. So late as the close of the second century even, Irenæus speaks of the Gospel as "*a tradition* manifested in the whole world" and "kept in the several Churches through the succession of the presbyters." "The great outlines of the life of Christ," he says, "were received by barbarous nations *without written documents*, by ancient traditions." So that long after our present Gospels were written, they were unread by thousands who had flung themselves in faith on the strong Son of God and were looking for his salvation. It was mainly by the voice, the testimony, of living men, not by writings however precious and sacred, that his grace and truth were made known in all the world; a fact which goes far to explain why it is that we find comparatively so few definite

testimonies, in the earliest years, to the existence and authority of the Gospels which we now possess.

What, then, *was* this Tradition, this oral Gospel, which the eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word preached in every city? How may we recover it? And of what use will it be to us if we should recover it?

To arrive at the oral Gospel we need not fling our four written Gospels into the crucible of thought and extract what is common to them all; and even if we did submit them to this process, the product would probably be something more, and even much more, than the oral Gospel contained. Nor need we select and expand one of those brief and compressed summaries of Christian teaching and doctrine with which the Epistles abound; such, for instance, as we find in 1 Corinthians xv. 3, 4: "For I delivered unto you, first of all, that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures;" for these brief summaries give us *the creed* of the primitive Church; and the creed of the Church is apt to be somewhat less than its Gospel. No; if we want the very Gospel, neither more nor less, which was preached in the early Church before any Gospels were written, we must, if it be possible, listen to the words of those who preached it; we must study and compare their sermons and discourses: for where can we hope to find the Gospel that was preached if not from the lips of its preachers?

Now, happily for us, many of these discourses are reported in the Acts of the Apostles; and notably those of two of the greatest of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. It really matters very little which of these discourses we study, so closely are they framed on one model. Substantially, they all cover the same ground, affirm the same facts, deduce the same doctrinal inferences. But, since we cannot well study them all, let us take St. Peter's first sermon

to a Gentile, and therefore a comparatively ignorant, audience, and the very first sermon of St. Paul of which we have any record.

First, then, let us listen to St. Peter as he preaches this oral Gospel in the house of Cornelius (Acts x. 35-43). He starts by telling us that he is about to speak "the word which God had sent unto the children of Israel . . . by Jesus Christ," who is the "Lord of all" men, and not of the Jew only; and that the ministry of this Jesus began "after the baptism which John preached." And then he proceeds to tell us that God "anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power;" that Jesus "went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil;" that He was the true Messiah, *i.e.*, since God "anointed" Him; that he was the true Immanuel, since "God was with him." And, further, he goes on to say how Jesus was rejected of men and crucified ("Him they slew, hanging him on a tree"); how He rose again on the third day, and appeared unto chosen witnesses (*viz.* to the men who now testified to his resurrection from the dead); what a great commission He gave to his disciples before He went up on high ("He charged us to preach to the people"); how He would "come again to be the judge of the quick and the dead;" and that "whosoever believeth on him shall receive remission of sins."

This was the oral Gospel according to St. Peter. Was it not a veritable and a sufficient Gospel? Did it not prove itself adequate to the salvation of as many as received it? Is it not, in substance, the very Gospel by faith in which we also look for salvation?

But let us also, before further comment on it, listen to the self-same Gospel as preached by St. Paul in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch—a Gospel which he could not possibly have learned from any book or writing, since no Christian Scripture could have been in his hand when he

preached this famous discourse (Acts xiii. 16-41). He is speaking to Jews mainly; and therefore he begins with the deliverance of the people of Israel from the house of bondage. He follows them through their wanderings in the wilderness, their establishment in the land of Canaan, their history for four hundred and fifty years under the Judges, their union under Samuel the prophet, their demand for a king, the reign of Saul; and then he dwells with argumentative emphasis on the promise made to David, that of his seed God would raise up a Saviour, a Jesus, who should redeem them from all their miseries by redeeming them from their sins.

All this, however, is exordium merely, such a recitation of the main facts of their history as that with which every Jewish orator engaged and propitiated his audience, such a quotation from ancient Scriptures as conducted him to his point and prepared the way for the Gospel he was about to preach. Then follows the Gospel itself. The Saviour, the Jesus, promised to David, came "when John had first preached the baptism of repentance." John announced and bare witness to Him, and to his power to save. The word of this salvation was sent to the "sons of the stock of Abraham." The rulers of Jerusalem, "because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of their own prophets," although "they found no cause of death in him, yet asked they of Pilate that he should be slain." He *was* slain. "They took him down from the tree" on which they had hanged Him, "and laid him in a tomb. But God raised him from the dead." "He was seen for many days" by chosen witnesses who had followed Him "from Galilee to Jerusalem." And through Him, whose death and resurrection even David foresaw and foretold (a point which the Apostle labours and elaborates at great comparative length), is "proclaimed unto you the forgiveness of sins."

The main qualification of an Apostle was, as we have been reminded, that he should be able to bear witness to the life and sayings of the Lord, "from the baptism of John until the day that he was taken up": his main function was to testify to the Resurrection. And it is curious to mark how exactly the oral Gospel which we have just heard from the Apostles Peter and Paul complies with these two conditions. They both begin this story at the baptism of John; they both pass lightly and swiftly over the facts and features of our Lord's public ministry, till they reach his death and resurrection; but here they pause and linger to bear their most emphatic testimony to the fact that He both died and rose again from the dead.

Even from this brief outline of only two of the Apostolic discourses, it is quite easy to recover the substance of that spoken Gospel which quickened and animated the life of the early Church, though an examination of the other Apostolic addresses recorded in the Acts would confirm and deepen the impression produced by these two. The points on which that Gospel laid stress were, evidently, the blameless life of Jesus the Christ, his beneficent ministry, and, above all, his sacrificial death for the sins of men, and his resurrection from the dead as a proof of his entire conquest over all the power of the grave. But, in addition, both the Apostolic preachers are careful to connect these facts with the ancient history and Scriptures of Israel, to mark how they fulfil the Hebrew prophecies; and they thus link on their Gospel to the Hebrew Scriptures in order to shew that the earthly ministry of Christ was no isolated and unforeseen event, but formed part of that historic and world-long process by which the God and Father of all men has ever sought to redeem the world unto Himself.

This was the substance of the oral Gospel; it was in these simple but cardinal facts and truths that the Preachers

of the Word found the lever by which they moved the world, and before which "the former fashion," the heathen fashion, of the world passed away. And it is in these very facts and truths that the real virtue of the Gospel still and for ever resides.

For this is the Gospel which we read in the Epistles of the New Testament, which were written some of them before the first of our present Gospels was published, and all of them before St. John penned his history of the Son of Man. We need not tarry to prove, for it is on all hands allowed that, even should all the other Scriptures of the New Testament perish, we could easily recover the main facts of our Lord's life and works from the Epistles of St. Peter, or St. Paul, or St. John. And no student of those Epistles can doubt that these main facts would be the very facts on which the Apostolic preachers insisted; viz. the blameless life of Christ, his healing and beneficent ministry, his death for sins, his triumph over death; and the connexion of all these with the slow historic development of the saving will of God as set forth in the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

Nor is it otherwise with the written Gospels. For if we take what is common to all four of these Sacred Narratives, while we get much more than the oral Gospel contained, we also find the same great facts and truths selected for special emphasis. This, too, gives us the life of our Lord "from the baptism of John until the day that he was taken up" into heaven. This, too, causes us to hear "the word which God sent by Jesus Christ throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee." This also shews us, only in greater detail, how, "anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power, he went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil." This, also, dwells and lingers on the death by which He took away our sins and reconciled us to God, our Father and our Judge, and on the resur-

rection by which He quickened us to a sure and certain hope of life and immortality.

So that, substantially, and point by point, the Gospel originally spoken by the eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, the Gospel conveyed by the Epistles addressed to the several Churches, and the Gospel more largely narrated in the four written memoirs of the life of Christ which we cherish as our most sacred and precious heirloom, answer to and confirm each other; and our faith is founded on the very Rock on which the faith of those who first believed was built.

I think, then, that we may fairly take the following conclusions as established. That the Apostles of Christ felt it to be their main duty to *preach* Christ, not to write about Him; that they were disposed to speak rather than to write by character, by habit, by all the influences of their time and race: That, consequently, the original Gospel, the Gospel of the first and of part of the second century, was rather an oral tradition than a written book: That this oral tradition was *historic*, setting forth in a lively and natural way the things which Jesus said and did: That it was the theme and substance of their Discourses, and of their Epistles: That the constant delivery of this oral Gospel was a Divine expedient for teaching them what of all they remembered concerning Christ was most potent on the hearts and minds of men, and so for securing a more perfect written Gospel when the time for writing had come: That in the four written Gospels—four and yet one—we have a record of the deeds and words of Christ in the fullest accord with the message originally delivered by the Apostles: And that whosoever believes in the blameless life and beneficent ministry of Christ, in his death for our sins, and in his resurrection as the crowning proof of life everlasting, holds a true and adequate Gospel, the very Gospel which sufficed for the salvation of the early

Church, however imperfect his knowledge in other respects may be, and however he may differ from us who hold one and the selfsame Gospel with him.

And there is one practical inference from all this, so pertinent to the dubious and sceptical age in which we live, that it ought perhaps to be drawn out and enforced. There are many among us whose faith has been shaken and impaired by the discoveries, or assumed discoveries, of modern sceptical Criticism. They have heard that men of learning and authority have refused to admit that the Scriptures of the New Testament, or most of them, were written by the men to whom, or at the date to which, they have been commonly ascribed; and that there has been a steady and determined effort to bring down at least the four Gospels to the later decades of the second century after Christ. Not having much root in themselves, they have suffered their faith to be nipped and retarded by this cold blast of Criticism. Not having the erudition which would enable them to refute these modern theories, they have at least so far yielded to them as to suffer their hearts to be troubled and disquieted within them.

Now it would be easy to reassure them by informing them that the very critics, or the very schools of criticism, which started these theories, are now pretty generally admitting that they have been disproved; and that there is at the present time a more general consensus of opinion than ever, among sceptical as well as orthodox critics, that the New Testament Scriptures—to whatever other objections they may lie open—were for the most part written by the men, and at about the dates, to which they have long been assigned.

But I think we can place them on higher and firmer ground than that. The main facts of Christ's life and teaching, the facts which, as we have seen, constituted the substance of the original and oral Gospel, have never been

seriously disputed. That is to say, no one disputes that, from the first, the disciples of Christ held and taught that, after having lived a sinless life and discharged a most kindly and gracious ministry, Jesus died to take away the sin of the world, and rose from the dead to throw open the kingdom of heaven to all believers. Even these facts themselves have hardly been seriously disputed, though they have been variously interpreted, and though a few, lost to shame, or of so coarse a fibre and so untrained in historical studies as to be insensible to moral beauty or the force of argument, have ventured to blaspheme against the blameless Son of Man. But among decent and intelligent men, who have seriously occupied themselves in the study of them, these facts have seldom been questioned, and still less the fact that this was the belief and the teaching of the primitive Church.

Virtually, therefore, we have, and so long as a Christian Scripture is left us we must always be able to recover, the very Gospel by which men were first brought to a saving knowledge of the truth. Of *this* Gospel we can never be robbed, let Criticism do what it may. If it should ever take away from us every one of the four written Gospels which it is now admitting to be, or to contain, veritable and authentic records, yet so long as it leaves a single discourse or a single letter of the Apostles—some of which it has never yet attempted to impugn—we should still have the oral Gospel which of old sufficed to convert the civilised world; we should still retain, or be able to recover, the simple but cardinal facts and truths on which the Christian Church was established. And any man who sincerely and from the heart believes these facts, has Christ for his Saviour; and, standing on these, may defy all the assaults of doubt, and all the still more deadly assaults of a narrow and cruel fanaticism.

For, be it remembered, our argument is as good against

Bigotry as it is against Criticism. Let our modern Rabbis and Pharisees prate and anathematize as they will, let them demand what additions to our creed they may, if men believe in the simple Gospel first delivered to the faithful; if, that is, we believe that, in Christ, the Sinless suffered for the sinful, the Best for the worst; that the Highest came down to save and redeem the lowest; and that He who alone has life in Himself so conquered death as to confer the power of an endless life on men once dead in trespasses and sins, we believe all that is essential to salvation, all that Apostles and Evangelists, the first teachers and preachers of the Word, insisted on and demanded of those who listened to them. We have and hold the very Gospel, the Gospel in the Gospels, and should let no man make us afraid.

ALMONI PELONI.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF EVOLUTION AND ITS BEARINGS ON CHRISTIAN FAITH.

THE death of Mr. Darwin has naturally led to renewed reflection on the scientific discoveries which are due to him, and on the principles with which his name has been associated—discoveries and principles which have of late years attracted so much attention and have acquired so much influence. More particularly has this been the case in respect to the relation of those discoveries and principles to the truths of our Christian Faith. The interest which men in general feel in the truths of Religion on the one hand, and in the great discoveries of Science on the other, is so intense and so persistent that it is inevitable they should watch with eagerness the relations between the two, and should be disturbed by any temporary appearance of diversity

between them. Great injustice, it must be observed, has often been done to religious men, and to theologians, in the judgment which is passed upon their attitude towards the advances of Science. In proportion to the depth of a man's faith in the Christian Revelation, in proportion to his belief that the Scriptures are inspired by God's Spirit, and that God Himself has thus spoken to us by holy men of old, and above all by our Lord, the Son of God, must he be perfectly sure that the revelation of God's words and that of God's works are one, and that every real discovery in Science must not only be in harmony with our Creed, but must illustrate and confirm it. But for the very same reason that Science, when correctly ascertained, must needs be in harmony with revealed truth, scientific hypotheses, when incorrect, must needs be out of harmony with it; and if such an hypothesis should for a time obtain popular acceptance, its influence might be as injurious to the cause of religious truth as to that of all other truth. Such instances have notoriously occurred in the history of natural and of all other philosophy; and it cannot, moreover, be denied that the very hypothesis to which I am more particularly referring has been used in many quarters, especially on the Continent, to disparage the traditional creed of Christians, and to undermine men's faith to a very formidable extent. With such evidence of the bad use to which science has sometimes been put, we are at least bound to be on our guard; and we cannot be accused of any unworthy suspicion if, charged as we believe ourselves to be with the maintenance of truths which are the very citadel of the moral and spiritual life of mankind, we challenge, like sentinels, every one who approaches it, and enquire strictly whether he bear the credentials of truth. In a volume very recently published, by perhaps the most distinguished supporter of Mr. Darwin's general views, Professor Huxley, we are told that the essence of the scientific spirit is criticism; it tells

us, says Mr. Huxley, that "whenever a doctrine claims our assent, we should reply, take it if you can compel it."¹ It might well be questioned whether the true scientific spirit be not more generous, and in St. James's words, more "swift to hear," than is implied in such a description; but if this be the avowed attitude of men of science towards each other, they have certainly no right to complain of theologians for questioning new scientific theories with caution, lest some principle should by mistake be admitted which might have the effect, for a time, of obscuring spiritual truths of a vital character.

Some questionings of this kind have probably been widely suggested by the awakened attention which, owing to the homage justly paid to Mr. Darwin's name, has been directed to the scientific doctrines with which he was popularly identified. It would not be reasonable to criticise too closely language used under the emotion which the death of a great man naturally occasions; but, apart from particular statements, the idea has certainly been spread that a certain scientific doctrine has at length been definitely established which conflicts in some manner with the received principles of our Faith, and that Theology has had to yield another part of her domain to Science. Many minds, moreover, which do not for a moment entertain such a supposition, are at least under the apprehension that some new difficulty has been raised and are consequently sensible of a certain perplexity. Doubts on the subject are at all events widespread, and it is necessary to take notice of them if satisfactory relations between our Faith and the thoughts of the day are to be maintained. It will not be necessary for such a purpose to enter into any scientific discussion, or to presume to intrude upon ground which men of science may justly claim as their own. The best way of dealing with any misunder-

¹ "Science and Culture, and other Essays;" by T. H. Huxley, LL.D., F.R.S. Macmillan & Co., 1881; p. 812.

standing or anxiety of this kind is simply to offer a candid explanation of the state of the case. No observation is more familiar and more true than that quarrels and misconceptions arise much more from a want of mutual explanation than from real antagonism. It is to be feared, indeed, that too many scientific men in the present day are prone to draw certain inferences from modern discoveries which conflict with the truths of our Faith, just as theologians have at times drawn inferences from their own truths which have conflicted with facts of Science. But the only satisfactory way of meeting this danger is to endeavour to realize distinctly what are our relative positions. What are the truths of Science on the one side which specially claim the allegiance of students of nature in the present day? What are the principles of our faith which are affected by them; and on what grounds do we vindicate those principles, in the face of the new light which has been brought to us by natural philosophers? If we ask these questions, not in a spirit of jealous criticism of new truths, nor of undue anxiety for old ones, but with a simple desire to appreciate the truth on both sides, we may hope to obtain a steadier and calmer grasp of the bearings of what is undoubtedly a very important controversy, and may in some of its aspects be a prolonged one.

Now the scientific doctrine in question is that of Evolution; and the theological doctrine which is supposed to be challenged is that of the interposition of the Divine Will in the course of natural and human history. Facts are supposed to have been discovered which shew that all the phenomena of life have been developed by the gradual operation of purely natural causes, and thus a disposition is fostered, even where it is not urged to a definite conclusion, to contemplate nature as a mechanism in which no immediate action of the Divine Will is to be recognised. The tendency of the principle is illustrated by an argument which, with

a view of minimising its effect, has sometimes been used with a good intention, though, as I think, unfortunately, by Christian writers. It does not matter, it has been said, whether the Divine action is removed some stages further back from us than that at which we thought it was working, so long as it remains the ultimate source of all life and movement. Such an argument recognises the fact that there is a tendency in some applications of the doctrine of Evolution to remove God and God's action to an increasing distance from the present course of things; and it is not surprising, therefore, if, to many minds, it seems removed so far as to be practically inappreciable.

In view of this difficulty, let us ask, in the first place, what it is precisely that is believed to have been established by the doctrine of Evolution? In answering that question, I do not venture to offer my own impressions. It is, fortunately, possible to give the answer on the unquestionable authority of Professor Huxley, who, in the book already referred to, has in two essays¹ summed up, with his usual precision, the results which he considers to have been attained. That which he appears to regard as having been conclusively established is, that the various forms of life by which the world is now peopled have not been created separately in the forms they now present, but have been evolved, by continuous gradations, from other and often extinct forms, in the course of an immeasurable lapse of ages. He pronounces that, as a matter of fact, the links which connect various species apparently diverse have been discovered in the geological records, and that we can trace the gradual growth of an animal like the horse as distinctly as we can follow the successive stages of the development of animal life in an egg. Such, we are assured, is the fact; and no one can be insensible to its wonder and instructiveness.

¹ On "The Coming of Age of 'The Origin of Species;'" and on "Evolution in Biology."

But a very important observation is next to be made, and one which is too frequently overlooked in general statements of the doctrine of Evolution. We may be assured of the fact just stated; but when we want to know what are the causes of the fact, our knowledge is imperfect, and we are on uncertain ground. "How far," for instance, "Natural Selection"—the agency on which Mr. Darwin chiefly relies—"suffices for the production of species"—this, says Professor Huxley, "remains to be seen." Few, he thinks, can doubt that it is at least a very important factor in that operation, but he adds that "the causes and conditions of variation have yet to be thoroughly explored." Again, he says, "the evolution of many existing forms of animal life from their predecessors is no longer an hypothesis, it is an historical fact; it is only the nature of the physiological factors"—in other words, of the causes—"to which that evolution is due, which is still open to discussion." Now to what does this amount but to a plain admission that, while recent researches in natural philosophy have thrown a brilliant light on the history of our globe and of the life upon it, they have not yet produced any sufficient explanation of that history? Neither the Darwinian hypothesis, nor any other known hypothesis, will cover the facts. "It is quite conceivable," says Professor Huxley, "that every species tends to produce varieties of a limited number and kind;" or, in other words, it is still conceivable that there is truth in the old doctrine, that there are limits to the variation of species. Similarly he regards it as possible that further enquiries may prove "that variability is definite, and is determined in certain directions rather than in others"—not by external circumstances alone, but—"by conditions inherent in that which varies."¹ But if so, then, in the opinion of the leading natural philosopher of our time, it has not been shewn

¹ "Evolution in Biology," pp. 306, 307, 309.

that the life now on the globe is the mere result of a blind struggle for existence, and no presumption even has been established for supposing that human life and history are subject to a similarly mechanical law. In the language of science, there may "be conditions inherent in that which varies"; or, in the language of religion, with respect to each organism and stream of life, a Divine hand may have "laid the measures thereof," or "stretched the line upon it," may have "set bars and doors," and said, "Hitherto shalt thou come but no further, and here shall thy waves be stayed." It is with this momentous qualification that, by the confession of the highest authority in this country, all that has been said of late respecting the establishment of the doctrine of Evolution must be accepted; and it is obvious that, thus stated and limited, the doctrine still leaves open questions which had been hastily assumed to be closed, respecting the nature of the Divine operation in the development of life.

But it may be replied that this ignorance is but temporary. We know that Natural Selection, "if not the whole cause" of Evolution, is at least "a very important factor" in it; and there is no reason to doubt that science will eventually discover the other factors, and that the natural process of Evolution will some day lie open before our eyes. Well, considering the infinite complexity of life as it now exists, and the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of knowing all essential circumstances respecting past ages, that seems a good deal to assume. But, for the sake of argument, let us assume it. Let us suppose that science has at length revealed to us the whole natural process by which species has passed into species, and even, if you will, by which man himself was developed. Let us imagine that the whole vast and infinite development lies before us, from its imperceptible beginning to its brilliant close. What then? Does it follow that, because the methods

of operation are thus visible to us, no Divine Mind has selected those methods, and no Divine Will has controlled them to their end? Does it follow that, because those methods have been regular, all working according to fixed laws, that the process has been a mechanical one, and that the personal agency, if it exists, can only be conceived of as at a distance, and as having given the machine no more than its original impulse? There appears an extraordinary fallacy in any such conclusions. The only facts we have to go upon are that certain results have been produced by certain methods. How do you know that the results were not deliberately intended, and that the methods were not designed and adopted for the express purpose of producing the results? How do you know that the laws you have observed were not established, and controlled in their action, by a living agent, in order to do the very things which have been done? In short, suppose natural science to have solved all these problems, and to be able to describe the mechanism of the whole workshop of nature, what will it have done to render in the slightest degree improbable the belief of the Christian, that God Himself has throughout been the Workman, at every stage of the work? It seems continually assumed on the one side, and apprehended on the other, that as soon as a man of science has shewn that an effect is sufficiently accounted for by certain natural laws and causes, the idea of Divine action in producing the effect may be set aside. But why may we not, with at least equal right, suppose that it was the express design of the Creator to produce that effect, and that He has used all these laws and causes with that object? We may not see the reason for which these innumerable individual results have been produced; but, to say the very least, there is absolutely nothing in the fact of their having been produced in due order and measure to lead us to doubt the fact of a designing Will having been present to main-

tain that order, and to assign that measure. Nature may not of itself reveal the Agent distinctly, or compel us to believe in his presence and constant action. That belief may need to be supported by the further testimony of conscience or of revelation. But, by the very conditions of the case, nothing that we can observe of the course and processes of nature, in respect to the regularity of the means by which certain effects are produced, can afford any presumption against the belief that God is Himself present, producing those particular results by means of those particular causes.

But let us, again from regard to our opponents, make a further concession in the argument. Let us suppose it could be shewn that, in all the past history and development of the globe before the appearance of man upon it, in all that concerns the perfection of the animate and inanimate world amidst which we live, nature has been left to itself, subject only to the maintenance of certain general laws. Does it follow that this been the case since man has been on the earth, and since new reasons have thus arisen for the interposition of God, and new methods for that interposition have been provided? Let us suppose it conceivable that, with a view to the mere production of vegetable and animal life, of creatures without conscience and without a future, nature was allowed to work by a mere mechanism, as it were, which took no heed of individuals: what reason does this give to conclude that a similar method has been pursued since man appeared on the earth, and every individual human soul has been born with capacities for eternal happiness or misery? Of course, if it be denied that it is possible for the Creator of all things so to use, and if I may employ the expression, to manipulate the laws and the creatures He has made as to produce any particular result. He may please, all further considerations on the subject are vain and not worth

pursuing. But, on the supposition of an omnipotent Creator, no limits can be placed to his power of either employing existing methods, or bringing new methods into action, to carry into effect anything that He may will. Assuming that He possesses this power, arguments derived from his action with respect to irrational beings cannot be held conclusive as to his action with respect to beings of so entirely exceptional an order as men. New purposes, moral and spiritual purposes, come into play, and new methods may be necessary for carrying them out. It becomes, therefore, to say the least, perfectly conceivable that God may have seen fit to interfere in the course of human history and development, in a manner which was not necessary in the course of natural history and development. It will be understood that I am far from saying that there was not that constant interposition before man appeared. On the contrary, the more reason we have for believing that the whole of nature is one, and that all has led up to the creation of man, the more reason have we to believe that God's mind and will have been everywhere, and at all times, present, preparing all things for so great a birth. But it may none the less be the case that He has specially intervened in human history, in a manner of which indications are not to be discerned before; and consequently that conclusions deduced from observations on inanimate nature cannot be applied without modification to the circumstances of human nature. Even if it were the case that the facts of nature exclude the supposition of personal intervention during the ages when there was no moral agent to be influenced, this would afford no presumption against such personal intervention when such an agent exists. In other words, even if such interference were not observed when there was no moral cause for it, is that any presumption against its occurring when there is such a cause?

It would thus appear that the presumptions which have been raised as to the tendency of the doctrine of Evolution to exclude that personal action of God, which is the first principle of the Christian creed, break down at every point when they are strictly examined. In the first place, by the admission of the most authoritative living exponent of that doctrine, no natural causes have yet been discovered which suffice to explain Evolution. Further, even if they had been discovered, there would still be no reason to assume that God Himself was not personally acting at every step of the process, or that every particular result was not designed by Him, and the methods by which it was produced specially adapted for that purpose. Once more, even if it were the case with respect to inanimate matter and irrational creatures that general laws have been allowed, so to say, to work their will, without interposition or special control by any personal Providence, yet, on the supposition of the existence of an omnipotent Creator, this could afford no presumption that He would not thus interfere for the moral control and guidance of a moral being.

Here, in fact, it is, to speak with that plainness which at the outset I said was desirable, that the real question of importance on this subject arises. It may not be a matter of very grave consequence to Christian faith by what means or processes the world was brought into that condition in which man appeared upon it. Evolution, as it affects the past, may in great measure be a matter of curious and even unpractical speculation. But when the doctrine is extended so as to imply that all things now go forward by natural processes, and that no direct and personal Divine interference in the course of our daily life is to be admitted—scientific theories which are pushed to this extent touch a point with which Christian faith must either live or die. The whole of Christian life rests on the belief that we

are under the immediate personal government of God, and that He deals with us at every moment as freely and as directly as we deal with each other. Our Lord's constant and most characteristic teaching would fall to the ground without such a belief. He declares that the care and the will of our Father in heaven is exercised over the most insignificant of his creatures, over the sparrows and the very grass of the field, and bids us appeal to Him in every need as a child does to an earthly father. Similarly his Apostle declares that God's hand is over us in every temptation, tempering it to our moral capacities, not suffering us "to be tempted above that we are able," but with every temptation making "a way to escape," so that if we fail to resist it the moral responsibility is all our own. We cannot doubt the possibility of such direct personal intervention on the part of God without doubting the reality of our own sense of personal freedom and responsible action; and accordingly the ablest and boldest reasoners who question the former, question also the latter. The old argument of the Centurion in the Gospel remains unanswerable. If we, who are men under authority, finite and imperfect beings, can nevertheless interpose for moral and intelligent ends in the course of nature and of human life, it must be possible for God to exercise a similar interposition. Here, it should be clearly recognised, is the point at which we can make no compromise with supposed scientific inferences. The spiritual life of the Christian day by day, the truth of the most characteristic principles of the revelation of the Scriptures, involve belief in the constant personal action of God in nature and in human nature. To these truths we cling, with the same conviction of personal and general experience with which men of Science cling to the facts which they have ascertained; we could not surrender them without the most absolute demonstration that we are under an illusion;

and, meanwhile, we maintain with profound confidence that any scientific hypothesis is erroneous which cannot reconcile itself with these moral realities.

Are we asked, Where is the plain and sensible evidence, which might be expected in a matter of such consequence, to prove, even to the senses, that God does interfere for the purposes of the moral government of man? Our answer is ready. We point to the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, and, in the first instance, to those recorded in the New Testament. Those miracles were avowedly wrought in great measure for this very purpose—that of revealing to men the hand and will and power of God, acting for their individual guidance, help, and salvation. They were exhibitions, by extraordinary methods, of that which is ever going forward by ordinary methods; and, in this sense, they are among the most precious credentials of Revelation. The God who did the works which our Saviour wrought while He was upon earth cannot but be capable of all that personal control of even the minutest matters which concern us, of the very hairs of our heads, which our Lord attributed to Him. There is no answer to this argument, except the tacit assumption of too many minds, embodied in the avowal of M. Renan and the sceptical school of the Continent, that miracles cannot be believed in because we see no sign of them in the course of things around us at present. But on what reasonable ground can the past experience of mankind be regarded as of less value on a point like this than its present experience? What would become of the doctrine of Evolution itself if the evidence of past ages were to be excluded? The very objection to that theory which was admitted to be most formidable by Mr. Darwin was that, in the present order of nature, the links which form the connexions between the various species are no longer to be discerned; and this difficulty has been met by the discovery that those links existed in remote ages, in

the forms of creatures of whom no living trace now remains. We appeal similarly to the evidence afforded by the experience of man in the past, at the great crises of human history and development. Then, at the very moment it was needed, supernatural gleams of light flashed through the twilight in which we ordinarily live, and they have illuminated to all future time the mysterious heavens around us.

But, to meet one last objection, the answer to which may bring these considerations most closely home to us, it may be urged that the facts revealed by the geological records are at least analogous to those we see around us now; and we may be asked what analogy is to be discerned between our ordinary course of life and those miraculous interferences of which I have spoken. It is a fair question; and there is none which the Christian divine would more gladly meet. For the answer to it we need only appeal to the testimony of men's consciences. Looking back on the moral experiences of your life, have you, we may ask, never felt any analogy between them and those records of God's personal guidance and government of his people which are recorded in the Scriptures, accepted in their simplest and most literal sense? Have you not heard a voice within you, at critical moments of your life, of which the most natural interpretation is that it was the voice of God's Spirit, warning you against yielding to temptation, and urging you, by gentle appeal to your sense of right and wrong, into the true path? Have you not, moreover, felt at many such critical periods as though a Divine hand were guiding your course, protecting you from danger, or marking out your path in life in a way you would not have chosen for yourself? The more the controversy we have been considering is finally driven home to this appeal to the witness of conscience, the more will the Christian faith be found to rest on ground which cannot be shaken. It will never be a demonstrative argument, because it is an appeal not to

logic but to experience; there will always therefore be those whom it will not convince, and such persons, as has been shewn, we are prepared to meet on intellectual grounds. But, after all, for the purpose of an appeal to men in general, we need no stronger argument. Our hearts will suffice to bear witness to the truth of the gracious revelation of the Gospel; they will assure us, in proportion as we listen in truth and simplicity to their testimony, that we have a Father in heaven, and that He has ever been, and is now, and ever will be, our gracious Guide, Preserver, and Friend.

HENRY WACE.

SOURCES OF ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.

I. THE WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS.

It is always interesting to trace out the influences that have been at work upon a man's character and writings, and their effect upon his thoughts or style of composition. Some men are, of course, more open to external influences than others; but, even in the case of original thinkers, it is often possible to trace back to some earlier teacher a thought which has been developed and expanded by the later writer in a manner that has given it a new force and a new power, and made it, in fact, almost a new truth. Take, for example, the case of the late Dr. Mozley. Some years back his volume of "University Sermons" took the world by storm, and was greeted with a chorus of praise from all quarters, the *originality* of the thoughts coming in for no small share of the admiration lavished upon the volume. And yet many of those sermons are clearly suggested by Bishop Butler's Analogy, and are expansions and developments of thoughts, and even of single sentences, in that great work, which Dr. Mozley had read and re-

read, and over every line of which he had pondered till he knew it as perhaps few others have known it. So, too, many a man can trace his first real *thought* to the influence of Carlyle; or the study of Wordsworth has opened out a new field to him, as it did to the late Archdeacon Hare, in whose memoranda, under date 1814, occur the significant words, "First read Wordsworth." Similarly we find Dean Stanley writing in the Preface to his "Essays on the Apostolic Age" as follows: "I may be permitted to take this opportunity of claiming once for all for the pupils of Arnold the privilege and pleasure of using his words and adopting his thoughts, without the necessity of specifying in every instance the source from which they have been derived."

It is proposed in this series of papers to apply to the writings and speeches of the Apostle Paul the process above described, and endeavour to trace back to their sources, ideas, thoughts, and expressions; for, whatever theory of Inspiration we hold, at least it is clear that the Divine Spirit did not overpower human freedom or destroy human personality. While recognising that St. Paul's Epistles were, in the fullest sense of the term, "inspired," we yet hold that there is also a human side to them, and that thoughts and ideas were suggested to the Apostle by what he heard and what he read, just as they are to us; and we believe it will be found that St. Paul, great and original thinker as he was, nevertheless owed much of his teaching, both as to substance and as to form, to his early training, and to the influence of the books he had studied and the teachers whom he had followed. The sources of his teaching which will be examined are the following: (1) The Words of the Lord Jesus, (2) the Old Testament Scriptures, (3) the Book of Wisdom, (4) Rabbinical Teaching, (5) Classical Literature, (6) the Speech of St. Stephen.

The present paper is concerned with the first of these:

the Words of the Lord Jesus. The passages to be examined fall into two groups :—

I. Those in which the Apostle expressly refers to our Lord's teaching.

II. Those in which our Lord's name is not mentioned, but which are marked by so striking a similarity to his recorded utterances that we seem to be justified in taking them as a reflection of his teaching.

I. The first group contains four passages.

(1) The speech to the Ephesian Elders at Miletus (Acts xx. 35) gives us a direct quotation of some words of our Lord on the subject of almsgiving: "In all things I gave you an example, how that so labouring ye ought to help the weak, and to remember *the words of the Lord Jesus, how he himself said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.*"¹

As is well known, these words are found nowhere in the Gospels. They stand as an *ἀγραφον δόγμα*, an "unwritten traditional saying"; one of many which must have been current among Christians in the Apostolic age, but which, for some reason or other, were never incorporated in the written records of his earthly life. Here, then, we have a source of St. Paul's teaching on the subject of almsgiving. The thought seems to have impressed him deeply; and it is, perhaps, to the influence of this saying that we may trace the beautiful and delicate thoughts towards the close of the Epistle to the Philippians, where the Apostle thankfully acknowledges the receipt of his converts' contributions, and then adds these words: "Not that I seek for the gift; but I seek for *the fruit that increaseth to your account*" (Phil. iv. 17). He seems to say that he would win for the Philippians the blessing promised by the Saviour, and make them know by happy experience that "it is more blessed to give than to receive."

¹ The quotations throughout are made from the Revised Version.

(2) In speaking of marriage in 1 Corinthians vii., St. Paul carefully distinguishes between the *commandment* (ἐπιταγή) of the Lord, and his own *judgment* (γνώμη). The former is contained in Verses 10, 11, and forbids divorce: "Unto the married I give charge, yea, not I, *but the Lord*, That the wife depart not from her husband . . . and that the husband leave not his wife." The other questions treated of in this Chapter, such as that of the Virgins (ver. 25), had not come before our Lord during his earthly ministry; and, therefore, on these the Apostle was left to the guidance of the Spirit, a guidance which he distinctly asserts (ver. 40). But the question of divorce had been directly decided by our Lord on two, or possibly three, separate occasions: (a) in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 31, 32), and (b) at a later date recorded in Matthew xix. 3-12 (cf. Luke xvi. 18); and, therefore, on this subject St. Paul is content with simply handing on the Master's teaching. (It should be noted, by the way, that St. Paul agrees with St. Luke in making no allusion to the exception ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ, which is twice given by St. Matthew.)

(3) 1 Corinthians x. and xi. contain St. Paul's teaching on the subject of the Holy Communion; and towards the close of the latter Chapter, he expressly tells his readers that he had "*received of the Lord*" that which he had delivered to them (ver. 23). The passage is generally understood as containing a direct claim to a personal revelation on the subject from the risen and ascended Saviour. It may, however, be doubted whether it *necessarily* implies this (see Meyer's Commentary *in loc.*). But whether St. Paul means to say that he received what follows by a tradition descending from Christ, or by a revelation issuing from Him, is of no great importance for our present purpose. Whichever interpretation of the words be adopted, it is equally clear that St. Paul's sacramental teaching is here traced ultimately to the words of our Saviour at the

Last Supper. And it is interesting to notice (1) the difference between his account and those of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and (2) the marked similarity it bears to that of St. Luke. The following table will serve to shew this clearly:—

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.	ST. LUKE.	ST. PAUL.
And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat ; this is my body.	And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said. Take ye : this is my body.	And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you : this do in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper,	The Lord Jesus . . . took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you : this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper,
And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it ; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto the remission of sins.	And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them : and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many.	saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood : even that which is poured out for you.	saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

The similarity, it must not be overlooked, extends to the whole form of the narrative, and not merely to the words of the Saviour, although it is as marked there as anywhere.

(4) 1 Timothy vi. 1-3: "Let as many as are servants under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and the doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but let them serve them the rather, because they that partake of the benefit are believing and beloved. These things teach and exhort. If any man teacheth a different doctrine, and consenteth not to sound words, *even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is puffed up, etc."

This passage is remarkable because it certainly seems to imply that St. Paul's teaching on the subject of slavery was founded on the express words of the Lord Jesus. The subject was one of the utmost importance in those days, and one on which the Apostle was again and again summoned to express his opinion (see 1 Cor. vii. 21-29; Eph. vi. 5-9; Col. iii. 22-iv. 1; and the Epistle to Philemon). And yet, so far as we know, the subject never came directly before our Lord during his earthly life; in no one of the four Gospels is there a single saying of his that bears directly upon it; nor have we anywhere else the slightest indication that He was ever called upon to discuss it. Either, then, St. Paul supplies us with an additional fact in our knowledge of our Lord's earthly life, and alludes (as in No. 1) to some unwritten traditional saying; or the reference must be a more general one, to such incidents as those recorded in Luke xii. 14; xx. 25, occasions on which Christ distinctly refused to interfere with existing social and civil arrangements; the very position, it should be observed, which Christianity adopted with regard to slavery.¹

II. We now come to the second class of passages. And here it must be noticed, at the outset, that we are now left to *inference*. In the passages already quoted St. Paul has

See Lightfoot's Colossians, p. 389.

himself told us the source of his teaching: in those now to be discussed it is merely the similarity of thought and expression which leads us to infer that his statements are suggested by the teaching of our Lord. The inference is, of course, not a *certain* one; but only those passages will be quoted in which it appears to the writer that there is a strong *probability* that it is correct; and while he is ready to admit that the probability is stronger in some cases than in others, yet in some he believes that it rises to a moral certainty that St. Paul's words are but the echo of those of the Saviour Himself.

(1) 1 Thessalonians v. 1-8. "But concerning *the times and seasons* (περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν), brethren, ye have no need that aught be written unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord *so cometh as a thief in the night* (ὡς κλέπτῃς ἐν νυκτὶ οὕτως ἔρχεται). When they are saying, Peace and safety, then *sudden destruction cometh upon them* (αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐπίσταται ὀλεθρος), as *travail* (ἡ ὥδιν) upon a woman with child; and they shall in no wise *escape* (ἐκφύγωσιν). . . . So then, *let us not sleep* (μὴ καθεύδωμεν) as the rest, but *let us watch* (γρηγορῶμεν) and be sober. For they that sleep, sleep in the night, and *they that be drunken* (οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι) are drunken in the night. But let us, since we are of the day, be sober."

Who can fail to be struck with the general similarity, both of the ideas and of the very words, to the teaching of our Lord on the subject of his return to judgment? We need not lay much stress on the fact that the opening phrase, "times and seasons," recalls Acts i. 7: "It is not for you to know the times and seasons (χρόνους ἢ καιρούς); but the comparison of the day of the Lord to the coming of a thief must surely have been suggested by the words of Luke xii. 39: "But know this, that if the master of the house had known in what hour *the thief was coming*

(ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται) he would have *watched* (ἐγρηγόρησεν αὐν), and not have left his house to be broken through. Be ye also ready, & in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh" (cf. Matt. xxiv. 43). The figure is so bold, and so startling, that an Apostle would hardly have dared to use it, had it not first received the sanction of the Master Himself, who thus used it, as we have seen, in his earthly life, and again after his Ascension, in his message to the Church through St. John in the Revelation (Rev. iii. 3; xvi. 15); and it reappears also in the teaching of St. Peter (2 Pet. iii. 10). Equally remarkable is the parallel between the next words of St. Paul, and those of our Lord towards the close of the discourse on the Mount of Olives as recorded by St. Luke (xxi. 34-36): "But take heed to yourselves lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness (μέθη) and cares of this life, and that day *come on you suddenly* (ἐπίσῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος) as a snare; for so it shall come on all them that dwell on the face of all the earth. But watch ye at every season, making supplication that ye may prevail to *escape* (ἐκφυγεῖν) all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man." Here we find the very same ideas common to both passages: (1) the suddenness of the coming (and it should be noted that the word αἰφνίδιος common to both occurs nowhere else in the New Testament); (2) the need of watchfulness; (3) the danger of carelessness from rioting and drunkenness; (4) salvation figured as an escape; while two other ideas found in this passage of St. Paul, (5) the figure of a woman in travail, and (6) the thought of sleep, though not found in St. Luke's account of our Lord's discourse, are yet probably suggested by it, as they appear in the version given by St. Mark, chapter xiii. verse 8 (ἀρχαὶ ὧδίνων ταῦτα) "these things are the beginning of *travail*," and verse 35: "Watch, therefore (γρηγορεῖτε) for ye know not

when the Lord of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or at cock crowing, or at morning; lest coming suddenly he find you *sleeping*” (καθεύδοντας). The coincidences certainly appear far too close to be accidental; and the conclusion is forced upon us that in this passage, written in St. Paul’s earliest Epistle, he is basing his “Eschatology” on that great discourse delivered by our Lord on the Mount of Olives just before his Passion: and the conclusion is confirmed when we remember that, in 2 Thessalonians, the Apostle (1) declares that “the day” cannot come “except the falling away (ἡ ἀποστασία) come first;” and (2) cautions his readers, “let no man beguile you in any way” (ii. 2, 3); two points which are emphatically set forth by our Lord at the beginning of the same discourse: “Take heed that no man lead you astray:” and “Many shall come in my name, saying, I am he; and shall lead many astray” (Mark xiii. 5, 6).

(2) In Romans xii. 13, seq. we find what is very probably a reminiscence of the Sermon on the Mount: (a) “Communicating to the necessities of the saints; given to hospitality. (b) Bless them that persecute you (εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας), bless and curse not (μὴ καταρᾶσθε). (c) Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one towards another . . . (d) Render to no man evil for evil . . . (e) If thine enemy hunger feed him, if he thirst give him drink.”

The resemblance, it will be seen, is very close between this passage and Luke vi. 27, seq.: “Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, (b) bless them that curse you (εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς), pray for them that despitefully use you (cf. the parallel passage in Matt. v. 44, ‘that persecute you,’ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς). (d) To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other; and from him that taketh away thy cloke withhold not thy coat also. (a) Give to every one that asketh

thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again. (c) And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. . . . (e) But love your enemies, and do them good."

The order in the two passages is slightly different, but the letters prefixed will serve to shew the particular sentences that should be compared together; and the chief point to notice is the *number* of ideas within the compass of a very few verses in our Lord's discourse, which reappear, sometimes in the very same words, in the exhortation of St. Paul. The thoughts are identical, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that the one passage was suggested by the other. Here, too, as in other cases, it is well to observe that the resemblance is considerably closer to the Sermon as recorded by St. Luke than to the parallel passage in St. Matthew, as any one may easily see for himself by turning to Matthew v. 38-48.

(3) Romans xiii. 7: "Render (*ἀπόδοτε*), therefore, to all their dues: tribute (*φóρον*) to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour." These words are generally allowed to contain an allusion to our Lord's answer to the Pharisees and Herodians concerning the tribute money: "Render (*ἀπόδοτε*) to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's (Luke xx. 25; cf. Matt. xxii. 21; Mark xii. 17); but it is not so generally noticed that the resemblance is, as usual, closer to St. Luke's version than to those of St. Matthew and St. Mark; for while the first two Evangelists use for "tribute" the word *κῆνος*, St. Luke alone has *φóρος*, which is the very word used here by St. Paul, and which occurs in no other passage in the New Testament, except Luke xxiii. 2, which evidently alludes to the earlier incident.

(4) We now come to a passage about which there has been considerable discussion, viz. 1 Timothy v. 18: "The

Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn. And, the labourer is worthy of his hire." As the words are printed in the Revised Version, it seems as if the last sentence, "the labourer is worthy of his hire," is intended, like the one before it, to be a quotation from "the Scripture." If so, as there is no passage in the Old Testament containing the words, we must suppose that St. Paul actually speaks of St. Luke's Gospel as Scripture, and quotes from it; for the words in question are found in precisely the same form in chapter x. 7 of that Gospel, the parallel passage in St. Matthew x. 10 having "food" (*τροφή*) instead of "hire" (*μισθός*). There are, however, grave objections to the view that St. Paul is here quoting one of the written Gospels as Scripture (see the Commentaries of Bishop Ellicott, and Dean Alford), and hence the majority of commentators suppose that the words are merely some "popular and well-known saying" referred to both by our Lord and by St. Paul. They fail, however, to bring forward the slightest proof that the saying ever was a proverbial one; and in Wetstein's great collection of parallel and illustrative passages there are none that throw any light upon this. But if I have carried my readers along with me so far, and convinced them that St. Paul not infrequently alludes to sayings of our Lord without directly mentioning their source, I think that we shall feel little difficulty in supposing that he is doing the same thing here. Thus we shall be able, with most of the best commentators, to take *γραφῇ* as referring only to the first quotation, which is drawn from Deuteronomy xxv. 4, and yet shall see in the following clause a distinct allusion to the teaching of our Saviour. We shall be confirmed in this view by referring to 1 Corinthians ix. 14, where St. Paul, shortly after quoting this very same passage from Deuteronomy, reminds his readers that

"the Lord ordained that they that preach the gospel should live of the gospel."

(5) One more passage shall be examined, 2 Timothy ii. 24-26. "And the Lord's servant must not strive, but be gentle towards all, apt to teach, forbearing, in meekness correcting them that oppose themselves; if peradventure God may give them repentance unto the knowledge of the truth, and they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, having been taken captive (ἐξωγρημένοι) by the Lord's servant unto the will of God."

Readers of this Magazine will not need to have it pointed out to them that the Revisers have put an entirely new construction on the last verse, nor will they fail to be aware of all that may be said against the rendering thus proposed for our acceptance. But supposing that they are right in their translation, there is a possible source of the remarkable expression ἐξωγρημένοι which will give the passage a new interest and force of meaning to us all. The word is a special one, and means to take or preserve *alive* (see its use in the LXX. Num. xxxi. 15; Josh. ii. 13, etc.); hence it hardly seems to me likely that it would be used of a captivity of the devil, which is one not of life but of death. In the New Testament it occurs in only one other passage besides that before us, and here (Luke v. 10) it is clearly used of taking alive and for life: "From henceforth thou shalt catch men" (ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσθω ζῶντων). The words were spoken at the call of the first disciples, and are sure therefore to have sunk deep in their memories, and likely to have been often on their lips, though they are recorded only by the third Evangelist. And it scarcely seems strained or fanciful to see a reference to them in this passage of St. Paul's latest Epistle, when he speaks of those who are "taken captive by the Lord's servant unto the will of God."

There are several other passages which might be quoted, e.g., St. Paul's directions about the treatment of "a man

that is heretical " in Titus iii. 10 (cf. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14, 15) are perhaps founded on our Lord's rule given in Matthew xviii. 15-17; but it is believed that all the most striking ones have been considered, and that they are sufficient to establish the fact, that no inconsiderable portion of the Apostle's teaching was directly drawn from the words of the Lord Jesus; and that Dr. Westcott understates the case when he says in his "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels" that "scarcely any clear references to the recorded discourses of the Lord are contained in the Epistles."

In conclusion, the examination of these passages may lead to the following reflections. (1) St. Paul does not quote from the written Gospels. The verbal coincidences are sometimes with one Gospel and sometimes with another; and where the parallel is on the whole closer with one, clauses and expressions have generally to be supplied from another to complete the parallel. (2) The coincidences are, however, far closer with St. Luke's than with the other Gospels: a fact which is interesting from the light it throws on the sources of the third Gospel. If we are not to believe that St. Paul is quoting from it, then it is almost certain that many of the similarities may be traced to its author's companionship with him, and that this Gospel has thus embodied the oral teaching of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Lastly (3), when we remember that we have no mention in the four Gospels certainly of *one*, and very probably of *two* out of the *four* passages contained in our first list (viz. those where St. Paul himself has specified the source of his teaching), we cannot fail to perceive how probable it is that a number of allusions to unrecorded sayings of our Lord may lie hid in the pages of the New Testament, scattered about through the various Apostolic Epistles, although they can never now be recovered.

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

INTER-RELATIONS OF THE SEVEN EPISTLES OF CHRIST.

BEFORE entering on the topic with which we propose to deal in this paper,—the relation to one another of the Epistles to the Seven Churches contained in the Apocalypse,—it may be well to make a few general remarks on those arrangements or plans which critics have often thought that they discovered in chapters or books of the Bible. There is a fear on the part of many that the idea of Plan is inconsistent with simplicity of purpose. Principles of arrangement, the existence of which earnest enquirers have been unable to deny, have not unfrequently seemed to them too artificial to be satisfactory. Even while accepting their own conclusions they have shrunk from them, and have thought that they were bound to put them aside whenever it was possible to do so. They have been afraid of yielding to their convictions lest they should destroy the naturalness of the Word of God; lest they should introduce too much of what, in a modern writer, would be conscious design into the unaffected utterances of the sacred penmen; or lest they should even do disparagement to the work of the Spirit by representing Him as availing Himself too largely of those contrivances by which merely human writers endeavour to lend force and artistic beauty to their works. Such a fear is groundless. In the first place, the question, like every other, must be determined by the facts, and by no prepossessions of any kind whatever. In the second place, it is impossible to deny that the Spirit of God, in bestowing his inspiration upon the sacred writers, has, in innumerable instances, used the very instrumentality thus thought to be too human for his purpose. Metaphor, parable, allegory, the tropical sense of words, strophe and antistrophe in the Psalms, the poetical clothing of the most solemn prophecies, the arrangement

even of didactic passages in Epistles upon what are incontestably the principles of Hebrew parallelism—such phenomena, and others of a similar kind, are sufficient to shew that in these, as we might call them, human devices there is nothing inconsistent with simplicity, or with the desire to produce a moral and religious result. If, in proportion to the degree in which we were constrained to acknowledge the existence of these devices in Scripture, we felt at the same time compelled to admit that the Divine element in it was giving way to the human, the effect would be that we should lose the former in exact proportion to the amount of sublimity or pathos, of power or tenderness, by which it was really indicating its presence. Lastly, it ought to be remembered that such artistic arrangements are improperly designated when spoken of as human device or artifice. However strange to us, they were the very mould and fashion of Jewish thought. Precisely in the measure to which the Jewish prophet or poet was impassioned did his language shape itself according to them in their most perfect forms. The form itself had a meaning to him. It was a part of his inspiration to adopt it. Not because he hoped to gain an adventitious element of influence over men did he so speak, but because he could not help it. In doing so he was making a nearer approach to what he recognised as the Divine ideal. He was making use of the only mould adequate to the fashioning of the Divine conceptions with which his breast was filled. Conscience, or rather self-consciousness, there was none. The artificial form was so natural, was so much a part of his whole habit of mind that, when most true to his message and himself, he fell most naturally into it. So far, therefore, from what seems to us an artificial arrangement of a book of Scripture being an argument against the truth of the arrangement, it may be the very reverse. It may be a valuable token of the inspiration of the writer.

It may be a pledge to us of that exalted state of mind in which he wrote. It may be strictly a part of the Divine method. If we work ourselves into the Hebrew mind, and no one will deny that in studying a Hebrew book we ought to do so, it may be full of valuable instruction, and may commend the lessons of the book with a double force. All that we have to beware of is the substitution of our own fancies for the objective phenomena. When we allow ourselves to be simply guided by the latter; when our effort is only to penetrate into all parts of the Divine idea; when we resign ourselves to Him who teaches, not only in Scripture but in nature, by form as well as by substance; when we see that the form is substance, inseparably connected with it, adapted to it as the appropriate vehicle of its expression, we have no need to be afraid of form. Not only is the effort to discover it full of interest, but the form itself, when discovered, may be full of power.

Numerous illustrations of what has been said might easily be given. Several of the Psalms have complicated alphabetic structures, but we shall remind our readers only of Psalm cxix., where eight verses are assigned to each of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, and where each of these eight verses begins in the Original with the same letter. Illustrations also abound in particular passages, to say nothing at present of whole books, of the New Testament. One of the most beautiful of these is to be found in the Gospel of St. John (x. 14, 15). Correctly translated it runs as follows :

- a* I am the good shepherd,
- b* And I know mine own,
- c* And mine own know me,
- c* Even as the Father knoweth me,
- b* And I know the Father,
- a* And I lay down my life for the sheep.

Here the lines marked with the same letter of the alphabet

evidently correspond with one another. Another may be taken from the Epistle to the Romans (Chap. ii. 7-10), where we can hardly doubt that the following arrangement is designed.

- a* To them that by patience in well-doing
- b* Seek for glory and honour and incorruption,
- c* Eternal life:
- d* But unto them that are factious,
- e* And obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness,—
- f* Wrath and indignation,
- f* Tribulation and anguish,
- e* Upon every soul of man that worketh evil,
- d* Of the Jew first, and also of the Greek;
- c* But glory and honour and peace
- b* To every man that worketh good,
- a* To the Jew first, and also to the Greek;

the last six lines corresponding in an inverse order with the first six. It is unnecessary to multiply examples. There is here plan, arrangement, to a degree that may be charged by some as artificial. Yet in such cases it is so only in appearance. In reality all is natural. The mind is giving out its contents in artistic arrangements as simply as plants throw themselves out into their forms of beauty. These forms then are no evidence that inspiration in its highest degree does not pervade them. They meet us everywhere in Scripture; and, if they do so even in didactic passages, much more may they be looked for in a book written like the Apocalypse in the noblest spirit of prophetic and poetic enthusiasm.

With these preliminary remarks let us turn to the subject immediately before us, the Epistles of Christ to the Seven Churches of Asia, contained in Chapters ii. and iii. of the Apocalypse. We have to ascertain, if possible, the relation of these Epistles to one another and to the idea embodied in them all.

It will be at once admitted by every competent enquirer that the number seven here employed is to be taken not so much in its numerical as in its sacred force, and that the seven Churches spoken of are not merely the Churches of the seven cities of Asia named, but a representation of the Church of Christ in all countries and in all ages, down to the very end of time. All of these spread themselves out in one great panorama before the eyes of the enraptured Seer; and in the midst of them all, knowing them, caring for them, watching over them, and Himself loved, worshipped, and obeyed, he beholds the Son of Man, the great Priest and King of his people, the first and the last, that liveth, and was dead, and is alive for evermore. The universal Church is before us in the seven individual Churches of these two Chapters. Nor does this view in the slightest degree touch the fact that the particulars enumerated as to the actual condition of each of these Churches are historical. Had this not been the case, the Epistles would have been so constructed that the idea of the writer would have appeared in them much more clearly than it does. It is precisely because he does not create, but because he deals with realities, that it is difficult to determine the principles upon which he passes from one Epistle to another, binding them in all the variety of their parts into a unity. We know that he had other Churches in Asia at his command, and that he could have selected them had they seemed better suited to his purpose. He had also before him many additional particulars connected with each Church, and, again, he could have fixed upon some of these if they had adapted themselves to his aim. But he cannot go further than select. What he deals with is history; what he delineates are facts. He may combine and group; but in no case may he imagine a state of things which did not actually exist.

The general idea then being admitted, that the seven

Churches represent the whole Church, it seems to us that we may spare our readers the trouble of enquiring whether they represent that Church in seven successive chronological periods, from the beginning to the close of the Christian era. If we examine the tables of such periods drawn up by different enquirers, we shall find them so utterly divergent as to prove fatal to the principle upon which they are constructed. No one has been able to prepare a chronological scheme making even an approach to general acceptance. The history of the Church cannot be portioned off into seven successive periods marked by characteristics to which those noted in the seven Epistles correspond. Besides this, the whole idea rests upon that historical interpretation of the Apocalypse which is simply destructive both of the meaning and influence of the book. We may be excused, therefore, if, at least for the present, we let it alone. To the Epistles themselves we turn as they stand before us in the sacred text. What do they themselves intimate of their relation to one another?

1. The seven Epistles are bound together into one whole. This fact has been already alluded to; but, in order to prepare for observations yet to be made in regard to the principles upon which this whole seems to be afterwards subdivided, we shall notice briefly one or two features of the internal structure of these Epistles by which the unity of idea lying at the bottom of them may be proved. In doing so it is unnecessary to dwell upon the consideration that precisely seven Churches should be selected, or to argue that seven is the number for unity in diversity, for unity in that manifoldness of aspect in which it must present itself if it is to be entitled to the name of unity. It is almost equally unnecessary to advert to the well known fact that, with at the utmost one exception, the descriptions of the Saviour prefixed to the several Epistles are taken from the general description of Him contained

in Chapter i. The one exception seems to be Laodicea, and we shall immediately see that it is possible to give a reasonable explanation of the choice made of those attributes of the exalted Lord upon which the Epistle to that Church dwells. Nor need we do more than mention the call to the hearers embraced in each Epistle, which is a call, not to the individual Church alone, but to the Church universal,—“He that hath an ear, let him hear what the spirit saith unto the *Churches*.” We shall notice only, what has been less dwelt upon than these points, that the description of the Lord given in the first and last Epistles has an obvious application to the Churches addressed, in more than their individual capacity. While each of these Epistles has its own place in the series, it is at the same time treated as the first or the last member of a group which must be regarded as one whole.

Thus to the Church in Ephesus the Saviour describes Himself as “He that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, He that walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks” (Chap. ii. 1). The description has no more reference to Ephesus than to any other of the Churches named, and no special bond can be pointed out between it and any threatening or promise of that particular Epistle. In like manner to the Church in Laodicea the Saviour describes Himself as “the Amen, the Witness faithful and true, the beginning of the creation of God” (Chap. iii. 14). The first of these appellations is no doubt derived from Isaiah lxxv. 16, where we have twice repeated in the same verse the formula “God Amen”; and the meaning of the name as applied to Jesus is, not that all the Divine promises shall be accomplished by Him, but that He is Himself the fulfilment of every promise made by the Almighty to his people. The second appellation carries us directly to John xviii. 37, where Jesus replies to Pilate’s question in the words, “To this end have I been born,

and to this end have I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." His whole mission is summed up by Him in the idea of witnessing. He is the perfect, the true, the real Witness to eternal truth in its deepest sense, in its widest and most comprehensive range. The third appellation again cannot be limited to the thought of the mere material creation, as if equivalent to the statement that by the Word were all things made. It would thus fail to correspond with the two appellations preceding it, which undoubtedly apply to the work of redemption, while at the same time the addition of the words "of God" would be meaningless or perplexing. Let us add to this that in Chapter i. 5, immediately after Jesus has been called the "faithful Witness," He is described as the "first begotten of the dead," and we shall not be able to resist the conviction that the words before us refer primarily to the new creation, the Christian Church, that redeemed humanity which has its true life in Christ. It is not necessary indeed to exclude the thought of the material creation; but, in so far as it is alluded to, it is only as redeemed, in its final condition of rest and glory, when the new Jerusalem has come down out of heaven, and when the Church's enemies have been cast into the lake of fire (comp. Rom. viii. 21, 22; James i. 18). All the three appellations, it will be observed, have thus a general rather than a specific character. Again, there is no particular connexion between them and the promises or threatenings of the Epistle in which they occur. Elsewhere it is different. In the Epistle to Smyrna the "crown of life" is promised by Him "which was dead and rose to life" (Chap. ii., comp. Verses 8 and 10); in that to Pergamos the threatening "I will fight against them with the sword of my mouth" is uttered by Him "which hath the sword two-edged, sharp," (Chap. ii., comp. Verses 12 and 16); in that to Thyatira "all the Churches shall know that I

am He that searcheth the reins and hearts" is said by Him who "hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire" (Chap. ii., comp. Verses 18 and 23); in that to Sardis, a Church of proud outward profession, but destitute of spiritual light and life, this deficiency of its state is pointed out by Him who "hath the seven Spirits of God" (Chap. iii., comp. Verse 1, last clause, and Verse 2 with Verse 1); and in that to Philadelphia the gracious intimation "I have given before thee an opened door" is made by Him "that hath the key of David, He that openeth and no one shall shut; and shutteth and no one openeth" (Chap. iii., comp. Verses 7 and 8). In all these cases the connexion between the contents of the Epistle and the aspect in which, in the first words of it, Jesus had presented Himself to the Church, is distinctly traceable. But in the Epistle to Laodicea, as in that to Ephesus, nothing of the kind is to be seen. The description of the Lord is general rather than special. He is the "Amen" of the Divine counsel; He is the "Witness faithful and true," who has left no part untold of the will of Him that sent Him; He is the source and spring of the whole new creation of God. It is no mere fancy when we say, that we have in this a proof that the first and the last Epistles are not simply members of a continuous series the last of which may leave the first long behind it, but that they are binding terms which gather up all the members of the series, and group them into one.

2. While thus bound together into one whole, the seven Epistles are clearly distinguishable into two portions, the first consisting of the first three, the second of the other four. Every enquirer admits this, and we may therefore be justified in passing quickly over the proof usually given, which rests upon the difference of place assigned in the two portions to the call, "He that hath an ear let him hear what the spirit saith unto the Churches." In the first three this

call comes in as a central part of the Epistle, immediately before the promise to "him that overcometh;" in the last four it closes the Epistle. It may be more interesting to observe that, according to the best attested readings of the Original, another illustration of the division adopted is to be seen in the fact that in the second and third Epistles, those to Smyrna and Pergamos, we do not meet the expression found in all the other Epistles, "I know thy works." The circumstance is at least interesting, and it demands explanation. We can think of no other than this, that in the mind of the writer the first three Epistles were closely associated together, more closely perhaps than even the seven, or the last four, among themselves. The words "I know thy works" occurring in the first Epistle were thus thought to extend their influence over the second and third, much in the same way as the description of the exalted Lord in the same Epistle sent its voice forward, and the description of Him in the Epistle to Laodicea its voice backward, through the rest. At all events these first three Epistles are a special unity; the last four are also like, and like in this respect among others, that the words "I know thy works" open the Lord's address to each of them.

There is still another circumstance to be noted in connexion with the point now under consideration, which we shall notice, however, not so much for the sake of the fresh proof that it affords of what has been said, as for its bearing on the question of the general structure of the Apocalypse. That structure is of vital importance in the interpretation of the book. It is a characteristic of St. John's writings that, when he has one great truth to present to his readers, he does it under different and successive aspects, and that the relation established between these aspects is that of climax. The most striking illustration of this is probably the relation to one another of the three

great series of visions in this book,—the Seals, the Trumpets, and the Bowls. But this peculiarity of structure is not confined to these visions, and among other places where we find it is the series of the Epistles to the Churches. The "Coming" of the Lord is mentioned in each of them except in that to Smyrna, the omission in the latter being perhaps due to the fact that it occurs in the first (Ephesus) and in the last (Pergamos) of the first group of three, and that thus, on principles already indicated, it was not needed in the second (Smyrna). But the mention of it, in the two cases where it does occur, is accompanied by the addition of the words "to thee" (Chap. ii. 5, 16). These words shew that it is not the general and final "Coming" that is in view, but a special "Coming," one of those more limited judgments, preparatory to the great end of all, in which the Judge of men illustrates the plan of judgment that shall wind up the issues of the present Dispensation. Even here too there is climax. "I come unto thee," is said to the Church at Ephesus; "I come unto thee quickly," is said to that at Pergamos.

When we pass to the remaining four Epistles an instructive difference is perceptible. The words "unto thee" are dropped, and we feel that we are in the presence of a "Coming" of a far more general kind than before, one too that rises step by step in character and draws nearer and nearer in time. To the first of the four (Thyatira) it is said, "hold fast until I come" (Chap. ii. 25); to the second (Sardis), "I will come as a thief" (Chap. iii. 3) to the third (Philadelphia), "I come quickly" (Chap. iii. 11); to the fourth (Laodicea), "Behold I stand at the door and knock" (Chap. iii. 20). In each of the two groups the climax at once forces itself on the attention, thus illustrating the unity of thought in each. The difference between the two groups is thus also brought more prominently into view, by the climax in the different aspects

of the one thought which finds in each group its characteristic utterance.

3. We have now to ask what that special light is in which the Church is viewed in each of the two portions of these Epistles. In connexion with this, the light in which the Church is brought before us in the separate Epistles of the whole series will incidentally appear. But, in the meantime, dealing with the two groups as two wholes, we have simply to determine what the common aspect of the Church in each group is. Now there are two aspects of the Church which may be said to pervade the whole Apocalypse,—first, the Church in herself, and secondly, the Church in her contest, her struggle, with the world. It seems as if the same distinction might be traced here. The first three Epistles lead us more particularly to the thought of the Church in herself; the remaining four to the thought of her as she struggles with the world, yields to its influences, is partly faithful and partly unfaithful in the contest, and needs the Second Coming of her Lord in order to her “fulfilment” in Him, and her final and complete victory over her foes.

The very numbers into which the two portions of the seven Epistles are distributed illustrate this. Three is the number of the Divine; four, as shewn in innumerable passages of the Apocalypse, is that of the world. The simple fact that we have a group of three, as distinguished from one of four, Epistles, is sufficient to lead to the impression that, in one way or another the thought of the Divine alone is more closely associated with the former than with the latter.

This impression is confirmed when we look at the Epistles themselves. Let us take the first three, and we shall find that in not one of them is the Church represented as yielding to the influences of the world. No doubt she has evil in her midst, and evil always springs from

a worldly, not a Divine, source. But she is not as yet conscious of what she is doing; she has not yet begun to traffic with the world, to accommodate herself to it, to lust after what it is able to bestow. The great charge against the Church in Ephesus is that she has left her first love. She has passed out of the bright and joyous feelings which marked the time of her espousals to the heavenly Bridegroom; but the evil is from within, and so far in particular as the Nicolaitanes are concerned, she shares the feelings of her Lord, looking upon them with the hatred which they merit. Smyrna is not reproached at all. She is rather an object of the Lord's fervent love, who is preparing trial for her in correspondence with the great law by which He trains his people, "Every branch that beareth fruit, He cleanseth it that it may bear more fruit." Remarks of a similar kind apply to Pergamos. There is no charge against the Church there that she was allowing the world to gain dominion over her. She had certainly persons in her midst who held the teaching of the Nicolaitanes, but the Church is not said to have sanctioned them. On the contrary, though dwelling in the place where Satan had his throne, she had remained true to her Lord, and had been purified in the fire of persecution which had now come, and had raged even unto death. In none of the three cases is the Church perfect, but in none is she really faithless to her trust. She is in danger; she needs purifying by affliction; she is purified by affliction; but she knows that he who will be the friend of the world is the enemy of God, and the enemies of God are her enemies.

When we turn to the second group of the Epistles we at once enter a different atmosphere, and the contrast is rendered more striking by the fact that, in the first of the four, we have the very sins spoken of which have already twice crossed our path, in the Epistles to Ephesus and to

Pergamos. In noticing this we proceed of course upon the supposition that, in the Epistle to Thyatira, Jezebel is not the name of a real, but of a fictitious person, symbolizing the character of a party in the city. Yet not in the city only; this party is also in the Church, and is tolerated by the Church. We must request our readers to notice the text adopted in Chapter ii. 20 by the best critical editors, such as Westcott and Hort, and the effect of which is to make the clause containing mention of Jezebel complete in itself, "thou sufferest," "thou lettest alone," "thou toleratest the woman Jezebel." We must request them also to bear in mind, what seems to have been disregarded by the commentators, that Jezebel was a *heathen princess*, the first heathen queen who had been married by a king of the northern kingdom of Israel. She was therefore peculiarly fitted to represent the influences of the world; and the charge against the first Church of the second group is that she tolerated the world with its heathen thoughts and practices. She knew it to be the world that it was, but notwithstanding this she was content to be at peace, perhaps even to ally herself, with it. The Church at Sardis is not less blameable. There are a few names in her that have not defiled their garments; but the Church as a whole has deeply sinned. She has reproduced the Pharisaic type with which the Gospels have made us acquainted, substituting in the first place the outward for the inward in religion, making a great profession of attention to ordinances instead of living in the spirit and walking in the spirit; and then yielding to the sins of that flesh to which she had thus given the supremacy. Philadelphia, like Smyrna, is not blamed, and it is well that there should be one Church even in the midst of the world of which this can be said. But the point now to be observed is that Philadelphia has been engaged in a struggle with the world. We learn this from Chapter iii. 9,

where the enemies of the Church,—“Jews” they call themselves, the people of God, but “they are not,”—are set before us as vanquished nations coming before the Church’s feet as she sits in the heavenly places, and paying homage to her against whom they had so long but vainly struggled. It is impossible not to see the difference here between this Church and that at Smyrna. There had been “blasphemy” in the latter case, but worse trials were only spoken of as about to come. Here the trials have come, and the Church has risen triumphantly above them. Lastly, no one can mistake the willing identification of herself with the world on the part of the Church at Laodicea. She says that she is “rich,” that she has “gotten her riches,” that she has “need of nothing” (Chap. iii. 17). To refer these words to spiritual self-satisfaction and pride is not only to destroy their own force but the force of Verse 18 immediately following. It is worldly wealth that is in view—a Church whose members have aimed at riches and have gotten them, who are well to do and in easy circumstances, and who have found so much comfort in their worldly goods that they have been gradually becoming blind to the fact that man needs something better and higher for his portion. In all these four Churches, in short, it will be seen that we have an entirely different relation between the Church and the world from that set before us in the first three. There is not simply danger of decay within, and need of trial, or the benefit of trial; there is actual conflict with the world, sometimes it may be a victory over it, at other times a yielding to its influences and an adoption of its spirit.

Attention to the promises to “him that overcometh” in the different Epistles seems to confirm what has been said. There is a marked contrast upon the whole between the tone of these promises as they are given in the two groups of Epistles; and, even where a certain amount of

similarity exists, the promise in the second group will be found to be fuller and richer than in the first. At Ephesus, at Smyrna, and at Pergamos he that "overcometh" is rewarded much as one in a simple and childlike state would be. The first promise made to him is that he shall eat of the tree of life which is in the paradise of God; the second that he shall not be hurt of the second death; the third that he shall eat of the hidden manna and be like the high priest in the innermost recesses of the sanctuary. All is quiet, appealing to the gentler susceptibilities of the soul, the privileges and enjoyments of a happy child that has not yet known the struggle of life. Not so when we turn to the second group of Epistles. There we at once enter upon rewards conceived in bolder and more manly figures. The first promise now is, "He that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give authority over the nations, and as a shepherd he shall tend them with a sceptre of iron, as vessels of the potter are they broken to pieces" (Chap. ii. 26, 27). This is the reward of victory upon well fought fields. The warrior who is thus crowned must have braved the strife, and won with difficulty. The second promise is not less marked in its character. He that overcometh shall not simply, as in the case of Smyrna, receive the reward of "not being hurt of the second death"; he shall be "arrayed in white garments," in the glistening robe of the triumphant conqueror, and Jesus will "confess his name before his Father and before his angels" (Chap. iii. 5). The third promise is at least a large extension of that given to Pergamos, for of him that now "overcometh" it is said "I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall come no more forth," that is, shall come no more forth to a struggle with the world similar to that in which he has been engaged, "and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem, which cometh down

out of heaven from my God, and mine own new name" (Chap. iii. 12); while the fourth promise has been well described by Dean Plumptre as the very "apotheosis of victory,"—"he that overcometh I will give unto him to sit down with Me in my throne, as I also overcame, and sat down with my Father in his throne" (Chap. iii. 21). All the promises of the second group of Epistles, in short, are clearly distinguished in tone and spirit from those of the first group. They presuppose a fiercer struggle, a hotter conflict, and they are therefore full of a more glorious reward.

Such then, it appears to us, is the relation of the Epistles to the Seven Churches among themselves. In endeavouring to determine it, we have simply followed the lines laid down by the sacred writer, and have contented ourselves with dividing the Epistles into their two main groups. We find in them no successive chronological periods, but simply representations of the two leading ideas which we must form of the Church,—as she is in herself; and as she is when, having declined as a whole from her early purity, she makes a compromise with the world, allows it to prevail over her, and sacrifices the future for the present. In the first group of three we have the Church considered in herself. She is full of toil and endurance, in her poverty she is rich, and the troubles of the future she does not fear; she holds fast the name of Christ and openly confesses Him. It is true that seeds of evil are within her which will too soon develop themselves, but this is her Divine character as a whole. She walks with God and hears his voice in her earthly paradise. If discipline is needed, by discipline she is purified. In the second group the evil seed sown by the enemy has sprung up. The Church tolerates the evil around her, makes her league with the world, and yields to its sins; she rallies indeed at times to her new and higher life, *but* she finally submits to the world and is satisfied

with its goods. Even then indeed there are many faithful ones in her midst. As in the Jewish Church there was a "remnant according to the election of grace," so in her there are never wanting those who listen to the Saviour's voice and follow Him. But they are not the Church as a whole; and, as in the days of the Saviour's flesh, they must eventually come out of her that they may follow Him whithersoever He goeth. It is the same sad story indeed which has marked all the previous Dispensations of the Almighty with his people in this world, and which will continue to be acted out until the Second Coming of the Lord. It is the same picture which is afterwards presented to us in this Book of Revelation, when the bride allying herself with the world becomes a harlot, and the Seer hears "another voice out of heaven saying, Come forth, my people, out of her, that ye may have no fellowship with her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues" (Chap. xviii. 4).

W. MILLIGAN.

WAS BARNABAS IGNORANT OF JEWISH RITUAL?

If the authorship of the Epistle of Barnabas were to be decided by external evidence alone, it must be assigned to Joseph of Cyprus, to whom the Apostles gave the name of Barnabas.

Clement of Alexandria, writing towards the close of the second century, more than once unhesitatingly attributes it to him; and this testimony is unanimously confirmed by later Fathers.¹

¹ It is true that Tertullian throws a *prima facie* doubt on the identity of the Epistle by his passing allusion to the Epistle to the Hebrews as "The Epistle

The internal evidence, on the other hand, is commonly considered to be adverse to the external, and to outweigh it. But Dr. Milligan, in his able essay upon the Epistle in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography, has disposed of all the stock objections to the authenticity, except that he allows serious weight to the argument founded upon "the numerous mistakes committed by the writer in Chapters vii. viii. with regard to the rites and ceremonies of Judaism; mistakes (he says) to all appearance inconsistent with the idea that he could be a Jew, a Levite, who had lived long in Jerusalem, and must have been acquainted with the ceremonial institutions of the Jews."

Now, if all that has been urged against the Epistle on this score were true, no one could well be justified in persisting in ascribing its authorship to Barnabas; but seeing that some of the weightiest of the allegations made are contrary to the facts, it appears to the present writer to be worth reconsidering whether the author was ignorant of the Jewish ritual of the first century; and, if he was, whether his ignorance was greater than would have been probable with Barnabas.

Barnabas' knowledge of the Jewish rites must have been derived from three sources; from personal observation, from the Holy Scriptures, and from Tradition; and we know nothing of him which should lead us to expect that the knowledge so derived would be complete or infallible.

He was a native of Cyprus, and on some five occasions only do we find him at Jerusalem. We do not read of

of Barnabas," but as there are traces in his writings of an acquaintance with the latter epistle, his confusion of names must be taken as a mere slip of memory, and one for which the many points of resemblance between the two epistles readily account. The opinion of "most people," mentioned by Jerome (Epist. ad Dardanum), was, so far as it depended on external authority, only an echo of what Origen had said (Eus. H. E. vi. 25) combined with this slip of Tertullian's.

him, as of Apollos, that he was mighty in the Scriptures; nor are we told that, like his great coadjutor, he had ever sat at the feet of one of the learned Rabbis. The confident assumption of the Jews (John vii. 15), that our Lord had had no means of learning letters, shews that schools where the traditions of the Elders might be learnt could not have been common even in Palestine, much less are they likely to have existed in Cyprus.¹

To test the accuracy of Barnabas we have the Bible and the Mishna. But the Law was only the skeleton, as it were, overlaid with the flesh and blood of customs and traditions; and though the Mishna is probably identical, as far as it goes, with the traditions of the first Christian century, it does not profess to exhaust them. According to Maimonides,² Moses brought down from Mount Sinai, not only the written Law, but also its explanation, the oral Law, which he had equally learnt from the mouth of God. This oral law, Deuterosis or Mishna, was handed down orally from Prophet to Prophet, and from Rabbi to Rabbi, until about the end of the second Christian century, when it was first committed to writing by Rabbi Judah.

By this time, a century and a quarter after the destruction of the Temple, many details of the rites connected with that Temple must have fallen out of mind, and as, according to the Rabbis, the Deuterosis was given orally in order that it might not fall into the hands of the Gentiles, so it is probable that Rabbi Judah in the same spirit would intentionally refrain from committing to writing anything which he might think would afford a handle to the Christians in their controversies with the Jews.

Thus it is fair to conclude that an eyewitness of the

¹ According to Joseph Simon, "*L'Instruction des Enfants chez les anciens Juifs d'après le Bible et le Talmud*," p. 29, schools were not general in Palestine before the destruction of Jerusalem.

² See "*Le Talmud*," by L'Abbé L. Chiarini, p. 3 and seq.

Jewish rites must have seen much that is neither in the Scriptures nor the Mishna; and, accordingly, the statements of the author of the Epistle must not be deemed inaccurate whenever unsupported by existing authorities, but only where irreconcilable with them.

With this understanding let us proceed to put Barnabas to the question.

In the seventh chapter of his Epistle, after saying that the Son of God when fixed to the cross had gall and vinegar given to him, he continues:—

“Hear how the priests of the temple had given a visible representation of this. The commandment having been written, the Lord commanded, ‘Whosoever shall not fast the fast shall be destroyed with death,’

[Lev. xxiii. 29, 30.]

since even He Himself was about to offer the vessel of the Spirit as an offering for our sins, in order that the type which was made when Isaac was offered upon the altar might be fulfilled.

What then says He in the prophet?

[Sc. the prophet Moses, *i.e.* in the Law and the Deuterosis. It is absurd to postulate, as is commonly done, an apocryphal prophet whose book has disappeared, when all that Barnabas says may be traced to the written and oral Law of the Jewish prophet.]

Does He say, ‘And let them eat of the goat which is offered in the fast for all sins’? No, on the contrary, mark carefully, He says, ‘And let all the priests alone eat the unwashed inwards with vinegar.’¹ Why? Seeing

¹ As in order to make the meaning clear, I have here added some words which are not in the original, I subjoin the Greek. *Τί οὖν λέγει ἐν τῷ προφῆτῃ; ‘Καὶ φαγέτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τράγου τοῦ προσφερομένου τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν; Προσέχετε ἀκριβῶς. ‘Καὶ φαγέτωσαν οἱ λεπεῖς μόνοι πάντες τὸ ἐντερον ἀπλυντὸν μετὰ ὄξους.* The punctuation is that of Hilgenfeld, which is undoubtedly correct, as the context requires it; though strange to say, in a note on the passage, he understands the words, “And let them eat of the goat which is offered in the fast for all sins,” as an erroneous assertion, instead of, as it really is, an inter-

that to me who am to offer the sacrifice of my flesh for
the sins of my new people, ye will give gall with vinegar
to drink, eat ye

[who now offer sacrifices for the sins of the people]

alone while the people fast and mourn in sackcloth and
ashes.

Dr. Donaldson¹ treats all that is here said as a mistake on the part of Barnabas. He says that no one was allowed to eat on the Day of Atonement, neither priests nor people, and that in Leviticus xvi. 27 we are told that every part of the goat was burned; no portions were excepted. He takes no note, and I incline to think rightly, of the explanation first, I believe, offered by Dr. Fell in 1685, that Barnabas here had in view neither of the pair of goats of Leviticus xvi. 5, but the third goat of Numbers xxix. 11, mentioned also by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 10, 3), where he says: "On the tenth day of the same lunar month (the seventh) they fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats for sin. And besides these they bring two kids of the goats, the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness," etc. That this third goat was invariably eaten is undeniable; for the Mishna (*Menach.* xi. 7) provides that, even when the Atonement Day fell on a Friday, the goat offered for sin was eaten in the evening. And that the priests alone ate follows from Numbers xviii. 9, 10 (comp. Lev. x. 16, 17). This explanation (if the true one) rescues Barnabas from inaccuracy, rogatory suggestion only made for the sake of emphasizing the contradiction of it contained in the next sentence, a very common oratorical artifice. Barnabas' antitype, as will be seen by what follows, is Jesus offering as a priest the sacrifice of his flesh on the cross, and tasting gall and vinegar, while his new people for whom the offering was made still fasted, their salvation being not yet fully earned. Clearly, therefore, he cannot mean to say that the type of this was that the Jewish people were ordered to eat the goat, while their priests ate its inwards.

¹ "*Hist. of Christian Lit. and Dogm.*," vol. i. p. 206.

except that thus he makes the priests eat this goat, *while* the people fast; whereas, in reality, they did not eat it until the coming of the evening closed the fast for both priests and people. So slight an inaccuracy, for the sake of bringing the type and antitype into closer correspondence, might well have been intentional, and would almost be justifiable, seeing that in the eye of the writer, who is taking the goat as the type of Christ's body, the people, who never partook of the goat, never ended their fast at all.

The only, but to my mind fatal, objection to the explanation is that what struck Barnabas was the fact that as Christ tasted gall and vinegar, so before his time the priests on the Day of Atonement used to eat gall and vinegar. Taking, as he did, the gall to be animal-gall, if he found an ordinance, or a custom for which he would of course postulate an ordinance, that the priests were to partake of the inwards of an animal with vinegar, the resemblance is striking enough. But Dr. Fell's explanation reduces the point to this, that the priests were to eat a goat, which must include its inwards, which must include its gall.

The true explanation probably is that Barnabas meant the companion of the scape-goat. Of this goat, Leviticus xvi. 25, orders the burning of the fat, and (Verse 27) the burning of the skin, the flesh and the dung. The inwards are omitted. Elsewhere, where burnt offerings are mentioned (see Lev. iii. 14-16 and iv. 8-11), in addition to fat, skin, flesh, and dung, certain inwards are particularized. I will not say that the omission was intentional on the part of the writer of Leviticus, but no one who has read a word of the Talmud could doubt that the Rabbis would hold it to be so, and lay down the law accordingly. If, then, the inwards were not to be burned,¹ they must have been eaten

¹ To prevent misconception, I ought perhaps to notice that Yoma vi. 7 does provide for the burning of (according to the German translation) "what must be burnt upon the altar," where M. Schwab in his French translation of the Talmud substitutes "*les entrailles*" for the indefinite expression of the German.

by the priests in accordance with Numbers xviii. 9, 10. It is true that as the blood of this goat was brought into the Tabernacle of the Congregation to reconcile the holy place, to eat it was contrary to Leviticus vi. 30 (comp. x. 18); but the Rabbis continually allowed general rules to be overridden on the authority of special inferences; for instance, the Law enacted that no layman should eat of the offerings, and if one did so unwittingly he should pay a certain forfeit (Lev. xxii. 10, 14), but the Rabbis held that the layman who ate the grains of corn raw was not liable to the penalty, because that was not the usual way of eating them.¹ Adopting the same principle, we may assume that in the case of the forbidden goat, the priests might eat "unwashed" the inwards which were usually washed. (Comp. Lev. i. 9, 13; viii. 21; ix. 14.)

Thus we find that there is no disagreement between what Barnabas says, and what we know of the ceremonies of the Atonement-Day; for the inwards of the goat shared amongst several thousand priests (Barnabas says "all") could be eaten during the fast by virtue of the exception implied in Yoma viii. 2²: "Whoever eats as much as is equal in quantity to a full-sized date together with its stone, or who drinks so much as would fill a small measure, is guilty."

For the vinegar I know of no authority outside Barnabas. The rule just quoted would, however, allow any drink to be taken during the fast in a minute quantity; and some things might be drunk in any quantity, for Yoma viii. 3 says: "If any one has eaten food which is not usually (sonst) proper

איכוריהן the reading of my copy of the Talmud I take to be a misprint for איכוריהן literally "their pieces," i.e. the extremities, the kidneys, the fat, and the lobe of the liver (Josephus, l. c.). It is plain that the part which Barnabas' antitype shews him to have had in his mind when he used the term *εἴρεσιν*, is not included.

¹ Talmud Hieros. Gemara to Troumoth vi. 1.

² My quotations from the Mishna are taken from Rabe's German translation.

for food, or drunk what one does not usually (sonst) drink, for example, fish-broth, or fish-brine, he is free." Many of the traditional rules were mere evasory mitigations of the inconvenient strictness of the Law; and it is more than probable that the priests¹ rendered the fast endurable by the use of some unusual potion to which Barnabas could give the name of vinegar.² Assuming that the existence of such a custom was known to Rabbi Judah in 190 A.D., at which time we know that the Epistle of Barnabas was in high repute among Christians, and may be sure that it was well-known to the Jews with whom they disputed, is it likely that the Rabbi would record a tradition otherwise of little interest, if he thereby furnished the adversaries of his religion with a weapon to be used against it?

Barnabas then continues :

"Mark the things which He commanded, in order that he might shew that it behoved Him to suffer for them. 'Take two goats beautiful and similar, and bring them forward, and let the priest take the one for the whole burnt offering for sins.' And what shall they do with the other? 'Accursed'

[ἐπικατάρατος, Barnabas' translation of אֲזַאֲזֵל for Azazel]

says He 'is the other?'

Mark how the type of Jesus is visibly represented. 'And spit on it all of you, and prick, and lay the purple wool around its head, and thus let it be cast out into the desert.'

And when this has been done, the man who takes away the goat brings it into the desert, and takes off the wool and places it upon a shrub which is called Rachia.

For the ceremonies connected with the two goats on the Day of Atonement, see generally Leviticus xvi. Dr.

¹ In this connexion it is perhaps worthy of notice, that in certain other fasts there were relaxations in favour of priests. See Taanith ii. 6.

² Possibly the "vinegar of the oblation," to drink which was held in an analogous case not to incur a penalty, because it was not usually drunk. See Talmud Hieros. Gemara to Troumoth vi. 1.

Donaldson asserts that nothing is said in the Bible, or the Talmud, about the similarity of the goats, or of the spitting upon and pricking of the scape-goat. In reality their likeness is expressly required by Yoma vi. 1: "Of the two goats at the Atonement Festival it is commanded that they should be like one another in appearance, in height, in value, and in time of buying."

Their beauty may be inferred from the law of Leviticus xxii. 20: "But whatsoever hath a blemish that shall ye not offer," etc.

Although too the Mishna does not specify spitting or pricking, in Yoma vi. 4, we read: "They had made a raised way for it (the scape-goat) to go, on account of the Babylonians who else would pluck it by the hairs," etc. The Gemarists explain "Babylonians" as equivalent to "Alexandrians": it was no doubt used contemptuously of the non-Palestinian Jews generally. Barnabas assumes that the practice of his brother-Hellenists, although forbidden by the Palestinian Jews, was enjoined by tradition; and he was led to specify the particular forms of violence and insult which he names by a recollection of the incidents recorded in Matthew xxvi. 67, xxvii. 30; John xix. 34, and perhaps Matthew xxvii. 29. The purple wool we find in Yoma iv. 2: "Next bound he the purple wool on the head of the goat which they were sending forth."

Now we come to the shrub called "Rachia." According to the Mishna,¹ when the man who led the goat came to the crag over which he meant to thrust it, he divided the purple wool, placed part of it on the crag, and tied the rest to the horns of the goat. Of the half tied to the goat Barnabas makes no use, but speaks only of the wool laid on the Rachia. Here we have the only certain discrepancy between Barnabas and the Tradition, the former mentioning a shrub, the latter a crag.

¹ Yoma vi. 6.

The explanation is simple. The name of the shrub varies in the different MSS. $\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}\lambda$ is the reading of Cod. Sinaiticus (4th century); $\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda$ of Vaticanus (11th century), Ottobonianus (14th century), Casanatensis (15th century), and MS. Barberinum copied about 1650 from a MS. in the Library of St. Silvester in the Quirinal. Codex Hierosolymitanus (11th century) reads $\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$; and the Latin interpreter preserved in the Cod. Corbiensis of the 9th century has *rubus*. These readings are in truth only two, $\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$ and $\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}\lambda$ or $\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda$; the two last, differing only by an itacism, are really the same. Consequently the weight of evidence is altogether in favour of $\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}\lambda$ or $\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda$, or written in uncials PAXHA or PAXIA: besides the omission of Λ to make sense is more probable than its insertion which makes nonsense. As there is no Hebrew or Aramaic word at all like Rachel or Rachil which could have been meant here by Barnabas, we must find it in Greek. And as the Greek word could not have ended with the letter Λ , this letter must be a clerical error for the almost identical Λ . We thus get PAXHA¹ or PAXIA, the latter of which is evidently the word required, being a literal translation of the עֲרֵב (*crag*) of the Mishna. Barnabas, then, it appears, uses the very word $\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ which some brother-Hellenist had used in telling him what was done with the purple wool; but, in his desire to use the thorn as a type, he either intentionally, or by accident, erroneously took it for the name of some kind of thorn-plant akin to $\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ and $\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta$.²

¹ Codex \aleph is full of itacisms, and not least so in the Epistle of Barnabas, and although I believe this $\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ supplies the only instance in this part of the MS. of the change of ϵ into η , I may point to $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ in Acts xi. 26, xxvi. 28, and 1 Peter iv. 16. See Scrivener's Collation, p. lii.

² The final Λ of PAXIA may have had a mark over it standing for final \aleph . If not, Barnabas' solecism in writing $\rho\alpha\chi\iota\alpha$ for $\rho\alpha\chi\iota\alpha\varsigma$ goes some way towards accounting for the clerical error of the scribe of \aleph or to be more accurate of the person dictating to him, for the middle stroke of the Λ having become indistinct [there is more than one instance of this in the twenty-five lines of \aleph of which Scrivener gives a facsimile] PAXIA would not remind him of PAXIAN and he probably took it for a Hebrew word. The reading of Hierosolymitanus is

That Barnabas should not have been preserved by personal knowledge from this slip is not wonderful, since from Yoma vi. 4, 5. it appears that the man who took the goat reached the fatal precipice alone, and that his last companion stopped short at a distance explained by Rabe to be about a mile. The chances would be literally a million to one against Barnabas' having ever been the man selected to lead off the goat, and no one else would have been near enough to distinguish whether the wool was laid on the ground or on a bush.

We have now examined all that Barnabas says about the Day of Atonement. About the red heifer of Numbers xix. he writes thus :

“Of what now do ye think it was a type that it was commanded to Israel that the men in whom sins were complete should bring a heifer and slay and burn her, and that then children should take the ash and cast it into vessels, and put the purple wool round upon wood—behold again the type of the cross and the purple wool—and the hyssop, and that thus the children should sprinkle the people one at a time that they might be purified from their sins ? ”

Then a little further on he adds :

“And why are there three children who sprinkle ? ”

The Mishna says nothing about the persons who brought the heifer to the priest. Numbers xix. 2 says that “the children of Israel” were to bring the red heifer, nothing being said about cleanness ; and, comparing this with Verses 9 and 18, where cleanness is expressly required, an inference arises that at least cleanness was not *essential* in those who brought the heifer. In the quotations from the Rabbis in

derived from the reading of \aleph by simply dropping the Λ in order to obtain a Greek word which like the rubus of the Latin translation correctly represented the meaning which Barnabas' context shews him to have attached to *Rachia*. In the next line Barnabas uses $\rho\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$, instead of $\rho\alpha\chi\iota\alpha$, dropping what he had treated as the specific name of a particular kind of $\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ for its generic name.

the Siphri on Numbers xix. 2, the heifer is called "the heifer which is offered in uncleanness," and "the heifer whose offerers are unclean." This is all which we now find for or against what Barnabas says about them, unless the enigmatical statement of Parah iii. 7, that the Elders of Israel defile the priest who is about to burn the heifer, by, as Rabe explains, laying their hands upon him, is to the point.

What Barnabas says about the children is in thorough accordance with the Mishna.

Numbers xix. 18, 19 enjoins that the sprinkling must be done by a clean person.

To secure the required cleanness, most singular precautions were taken. Children were set apart literally from their mothers' wombs.¹ Under the Forecourts of the Temple, between them and the rock, a space was hollowed to prevent the contamination of any dead body which might lie buried there being communicated from the ground to the Courts. Into these Courts pregnant women were brought, who there bore their sons and reared them, until, as Rabe explains, they were eight years old.² After they were old enough, they were seated on doors laid on the backs of oxen; and, riding thus, they went to the brook Siloah, drew water, and returned to the Temple-hill, where, at the door of the Forecourt, were placed vessels containing the ashes of the red heifers. Then a goat was brought, a stick was tied between its horns, and a branch with twigs was attached to the stick. The stick was dipped into the ashes, the goat was made to spring backwards, and so draw out the stick and the branch, which the first child then took, and shook off the ash into the water, until

¹ Parah iii. 2 et seq.

² Dr. Donaldson accurately states that the Talmud excepts from taking part in the sprinkling boys who have not reached the age of intelligence. See Parah xii. 10, "Children who have no understanding," i.e. under eight years.

a film of ash lay on the top of the water when it was considered ready for use. After this the children sprinkled one another.

Here the Mishna turns away to say how, as far as possible, on the seven days of the priest's separation previous to the sacrifice of a red heifer, he should on each day be sprinkled with the ashes of a different heifer, a part of the ashes of each of those previously offered having been kept, and it makes the strange statement that this offering had only taken place on nine occasions inclusive of an offering made by Moses.

The description of what the children do is not again resumed, so that we do not come to where, according to Barnabas, they sprinkle the people. But there can be no reasonable doubt that they did it. If a man who had touched a dead body failed to purify himself, he was to die. (Num. xix. 13). The sprinkling, if done by an unclean person, was inoperative. No one could tell whether he was himself clean, much less could he answer for his neighbour; since we see that even if a man walked over a bridge and the ground on which the piers stood held a dead body, he became unclean. It is impossible to suppose that many would be willing to run the risk of death by receiving the sprinkling at the hands of a doubtfully clean neighbour, when there were these children, whose whole lives were devoted to avoiding possible pollution through any indirect contact with a dead body, the hollow under their dwelling protecting them when at home, and the doors on which they sat shutting off any risk when they went abroad.¹

¹ Another reason for preferring the services of persons whose special duty it was, would be the likelihood that any one else would through ignorance or forgetfulness infringe one of the many minute rules laid down for obtaining and preparing the sprinkling-water, and the non-observance of any one of which would render the whole thing futile. The assumption of the seventh-century Targum on the Pentateuch commonly named after Jonathan Ben Uzziel that the person by whom the sprinkling was done was to be a priest, is opposed to

Barnabas mentions wood, red wool, and hyssop. The passage which I have quoted from the Mishna names a stick and a branch with twigs. That the branch was hyssop follows from Numbers xix. 18 (comp. Exod. xii. 22; Lev. xiv. 4, 51, and Ps. li. 7). That the wool was also present appears from Parah iii. 11, where we find that the red wool was used to tie the hyssop to the wood.

The number of the children is now alone left. As the children's preparation for their office lasted eight years, it follows from the chances of mortality that the number must have varied from time to time. All we need say, therefore, is that, in Barnabas' time, the number happened to be three.

Another objection of a somewhat similar kind urged against the authenticity of the Epistle is, that "the writer allegorizes on the number of Abraham's servants, as if the Old Testament had been written in Greek. The Greek letters being used for numbers, he finds in 318 the name of Jesus and an intimation of the Cross, a piece of gnosis which he could scarcely have perpetrated had he not been so much accustomed to the Scriptures in Greek as to have forgotten that Hebrew letters had been originally used in indicating the number." But Barnabas was a Hellenist; and, if he did ignore the original language of the Scriptures, he did no more than Philo, who, commenting on Genesis i. 8, says: *Εἰτ' αὐτὸν εὐθέως οὐρανὸν εὐθυβόλως καὶ πάνυ κυρίως προσεῖπεν, ἥτοι διότι πάντων ὅρος ἦν ἤδη ἃ ὅτι πρῶτος τῶν ὀρατῶν ἐγένετο*. Barnabas, however, need not have meant more than that there was a latent reference in the numbers to Jesus and his cross, which was made manifest

the indefinite expression of the Bible and of the Targum of Onkelos, and is contradicted by the Siphri, while the Mishna says more than once that any one (i.e., any one who was clean) could do it except a woman, an infant, and one other exception. And even women could and did take part in the ceremony so far as to bring forward the vessels containing the ashes for mixing with the water.

when, according to the predestination of God, the Scriptures were translated into Greek.¹

The result of our enquiry is that the writer's use of Tradition, attributing it to Moses, and making no distinction between its authority and that of the written Law, proves him to have been a Jew.

His so-called blunder, through the use of the Greek Scriptures, proves him to have been a Hellenist, as does his adoption, as we have seen, of the Hellenist tradition against that of the Palestinian Jews in regard to their treatment of the scape-goat. The minuteness of his acquaintance with Jewish ritual, coupled with the error about the meaning of *παῖλα*, which could not have been made by any one whose knowledge had been acquired in the schools, proves him to have been one who, before the destruction of the Temple, must have been an eyewitness of its ceremonies and picked up his information on the spot.

Accordingly, this branch of the internal evidence distinctly corroborates the external testimony, that the writer of the Epistle was Barnabas of Cyprus, the companion of Paul.

JAMES C. MARSHALL.

BRIEF NOTICES.

THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL, by *Dr. W. Robertson Smith* (Edinburgh : A. & C. Black), is a sequel to the volume of Lectures he published last year under the title *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, and carries down his review of the history of Israel to the close of the eighth century B.C. It is a singularly valuable contribution to popular Biblical literature, and even scholars will read it with

¹ Any one acquainted with Philo, Justin Martyr, and Origen, will understand that even by men of keen intellect, such a piece of gnosis would be deemed deep striking and true, and will be disposed to pardon the exultation with which Barnabas proclaims it.

instruction as well as with enjoyment. Its main value consists, however, not in his exposition of the—as we think, unsound—critical assumption which he has borrowed from Kuenen and Wellhausen, and which is already being superseded by the “higher criticism” of more advanced schools, but in the light it throws on an obscure period of Jewish history by illustrations drawn from the writings of contemporary prophets.

While our most able and learned scholars have eagerly seized on any verifications, illustrations, or expansions of the Sacred Chronicle to be derived from the heathen monuments of antiquity, they have too much neglected a mine of untold value which lay under their hands. For the Prophets, especially the Minor Prophets, and the later Psalms, if critically handled and examined, are capable of yielding facts, illustrations, and suggestions, that would place the history of the centuries which immediately preceded the Captivity, the Captivity itself, and the Return in a most illuminating light. Dr. Smith has seen and seized on part of this unworked historical treasure, and has done much to render it available. For the period he covers in this volume, he has gone far towards reconstructing the Hebrew story, at least for the general reader. And while thus clarifying and enriching the history of that time, he has also given us an informal but most valuable Introduction to the writings of the prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, an Introduction much more helpful than most of those prefixed to formal commentaries on their Writings. No attentive reader of his Lectures can rise from a study of them without having possessed himself of many new and striking conceptions of the prophetic work, and of what manner of men they were who were called to that work. He will find, above all, that four picturesque and most impressive figures have been added to his portrait gallery, in Amos, the untrained but eloquent and resolute shepherd of the desert; in the amiable and pensive Hosea, whose sorely tried and all-enduring love—which did not “alter where it alteration found, nor bend with the remover to remove,” but shone on like a steadfast star upon the bark beneath, driven by the winds and tossed,—revealed to him the unchanging fidelity of the love of God; in Isaiah, the polished and accomplished statesman, whose political sagacity never failed him, because it was based on the great moral principles by which the world is ruled; and in Micah, the fierce democrat, who denounced the nobles of Israel, with their lusts, luxuries, and

oppressions, as the worst enemies of the chosen race, and who saw in a return to the simplicity, the plain living and high thinking, of ancient times the only hope of their redemption.

ONESIMUS. *Memoirs of a Disciple of St. Paul. By the Author of Philochristus.* (London: Macmillan & Co.) Fictions founded on and intended to illustrate New Testament History are seldom written by men of first-rate capacity and scholarship, and seldom therefore repay the trouble of reading them, or atone for the offence they give to certain sensitive and devout minds. Even *Philochristus*, though the work of a rare mind rarely accomplished, had to overcome an instinctive objection in many of those who most admired it, but who shrank uneasily from a story of which the Son of Man was the hero, and from that blending of fact with imagination which such a story involves. Most of them, no doubt, were reconciled to what at first they felt to be a kind of irreverence when they found that the Author used his imaginary framework of invented circumstance only to place the facts of the Gospel history in a clearer light. But in reading *Onesimus*, which is a kind of sequel to *Philochristus*, they will not meet with even this momentary drawback to their pleasure and instruction. No halo of more than mortal dignity hangs round the slave of Philemon, the convert of St. Paul. Tradition, it is true, makes him a bishop; but even bishops are but men. And certainly no one can read this story without learning much of the Christian revolution of the Apostolic age. In pure, simple, stately English, such as few writers of the present day can command, the Author tells the story of Onesimus, filling in the known details of his career with details so well imagined as that they commend themselves to us by a kind of inherent probability, and one feels that, if they are not true, at least they ought to be true. In short, one might read many grave treatises and commentaries without gaining from them so vivid an impression of the moral and social conditions of the men to whom the Christian Faith made its first appeal, or of the way in which it met their needs, and drew and held their hearts.

Much praise has been lavished on the artistic verisimilitude of the story here told, in all which, with a single qualification, we can heartily join. We doubt whether the tone and atmosphere of the story are not those of the second century after Christ rather than those of the first. That, however, would be a trifling fault, did it

not spring from what, with the most sincere respect for the Author, we hold to be a grave and serious error. The simple fact is that both *Philochristus*, and *Onesimus* are stories *with a purpose*, and a purpose which should be worked out in solid argument, if that be possible, rather than suggested by touch after touch in artistic fictions. That our canonical Gospels are of a much later date than is commonly assigned to them, and that hence there was plenty of time between the utterance of the original Gospel and our written reports of it for myths to gather round the person of our Lord, for metaphors to harden into literal facts, and for fulfilments of ancient prophecies to be read into the Tradition handed down by the Apostles, is, no doubt, a critical hypothesis which admits of being argued, although it is now being renounced by the very School which invented it; but it is an hypothesis so questionable in itself, and so evidently dictated by an aversion to the supernatural element in the written Gospels, that it ought not to be assumed as the substructure of works of art, and taken for granted where the very grave objections to it cannot be met. What we hold to be the fair and true statement of this difficult question will be found in an essay on *The Oral and Written Gospels* contributed by *Peloni Almoni* to the present number of *The Expositor*. We need not, therefore, dwell upon it here. Nor, indeed, do we see what the Author of *Onesimus* would gain even if he could prove the point which he assumes. For unless he could also prove that St. Paul's greatest Epistles were not written by him, and do not fall in the second half of the first century, it would still be obviously true that the Apostles held miracles, and above all the Resurrection of Christ, to be of the very stuff and substance of the original Gospel; and if he should ever attempt to prove that, he would stand absolutely alone, with the whole band of critics, sceptical as well as orthodox, against him.

With this one drawback, however, we can cordially commend this most beautiful and instructive story, a story which, its critical assumption notwithstanding, breathes a spirit so catholic and devout that we fail to comprehend how any one should read it without being the happier, the wiser, and the better for it.

S. Cox.

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EDITED BY THE REV.

SAMUEL COX, D.D.

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SERVICE AND REWARD.

ST. MATTHEW x. 41.

I KNOW not how it may have been with others, but, to me, this Verse was for many years more perplexing than many passages much more difficult and of far profounder meaning. But I must not assume either that many other readers of the New Testament find no perplexity, no difficulty, in it, or that they do. For it is not every man who has formed the habit of "breaking his mind" on every "craggy" Scripture he meets; and even those who have formed that habit, as surely every thoughtful commentator must have done, can hardly have been perplexed by this Verse, since in no commentary that I possess is there any solution of the difficulty I used to feel in it, nor even so much as any suspicion of a difficulty which needs solution. The best commentators, indeed, take the Verse in their easiest stride, and do not so much as pause at it; nay, seem quite unconscious of anything in it to give them pause.

And yet surely I cannot be mistaken in thinking that there is a very real difficulty in it, and a difficulty which will be felt and recognized the moment it is pointed out, if at least heart still answers to heart in man. The difficulty I used to feel in these words was the apparent *injustice* of them. To my mind it did not seem fair that there should be only one and the same reward for the prophet and the man who simply received a prophet, for the righteous man and those who simply received—*i.e.*, listened to and welcomed—a righteous man. It appeared to me that a man who, by studious cultivation of his spiritual

gifts and a growing fidelity to the Divine Voice within him, had become a prophet; a man, that is, who could both see and teach men to see the gradual evolution of a Divine significance and purpose in human life, and the great moral principles by which that evolution is controlled; a man who had discovered new truths, or new applications of familiar truths to the conditions and needs of the time in which he lived, was worthy of more honour and a greater reward than those who listened to his message with sympathy, and profited by the instruction he brought. And, still more, it appeared to me that a man who, by years of thought and endeavour, had originated a new and loftier ideal of righteousness, or had risen to the rare and difficult achievement of embodying an ideal righteousness in his daily life, might well look for ampler reward and higher distinction than those who simply admired his ideal or set themselves to copy his example. Do we not all admit that to have *discovered* truth, or to have *originated* purer manners and higher laws of life, sets a man apart from and above his fellows, gives him a claim, invests him with a worth, which they do not possess? Must we not all feel, then, a certain difficulty in a promise which reduces him to the level of his fellows, and confuses his reward with theirs? When, at least, that difficulty is once pointed out, must we not all recognize it, and confess that the Promise sounds inequitable and unjust?

The young are especially likely to recognize this difficulty, and to resent it. For in our earlier years we have a crave for justice, and are apt to be somewhat too rigorous in demanding that it be exact and full. Till a wider and painful experience has taught us how much we ourselves stand in need of mercy, how strangely good and evil are blended in our own nature and conduct, and what a poor figure we ourselves should present were a strict justice meted out to us, it is natural that we should be hard in our

judgments and rigorous in our demands. But even when the fire of youth has somewhat abated, we still crave to see justice done, though now we are thankful that "God makes allowance for us all;" we still resent open and manifold injustice; and even to us there does seem a manifest injustice in meting out one and the same reward to men of such different calibre and claims as the prophet and the righteous man, and those who only "receive" men so gifted and of such high desert.

My aim, then, will be to discharge all appearance of this hateful injustice from the Promise of our Lord, and to shew that under its apparent injustice there lies a most substantial and Divine justice. And there are two points—and only two, I think—which are essential to this vindication. (1) We must consider the claims of those who are here described as *receiving* men more gifted or more righteous than themselves. And (2) we must try to define the nature of the *reward* in which they are to share.

I. The world at large is, as a rule, too preoccupied with its own affairs and pursuits, too content with its own aims, or too set on its own views and methods, to listen to and welcome the prophets and righteous men who address it. And even the great bulk of those who constitute the Church are too busy in doing honour—in building sepulchres or raising monuments—to the great teachers and reformers of bygone ages, in enjoying the benefits they conferred or defending the liberties they won, to receive the new truths or the nobler ideals which the seers and saints of their own age urge upon them. Those who do receive a living prophet, therefore, simply because he *is* a prophet—*i.e.*, simply because he is a man versed in the moral principles by which human life is governed, and capable of applying them in new ways to the new needs of the time—must at least have some sympathy with his studies and conclusions; and those who receive a righteous man, simply because he

is a righteous man, must at least have some sympathy with righteousness, and some aspiration after it. In other words, they must have a keener eye for truth, and a prompter sympathy with noble and ennobling ideas, than most of their neighbours, whether in the Church or in the world at large. For the question here is not of the welcome we give to a man who is agreeable to us for his own sake, either because he teaches what we already believe, or because he holds up an ideal of human life which jumps with our inclinations or sanctions the habits we have formed. And, still less, is it a question of shewing our liking for a man commended to us by his personal qualities and charm, or of shewing our respect for him because he has been ordained our spiritual pastor and master by an authority to which we defer. The claim of the prophet on us is simply that he is a prophet, that he brings us some disclosure of the will of God which we feel to be true, however little we like it; and the claim of the righteous man is that he presents us with an ideal of conduct which we feel to be pure and fair and good, however far we ourselves fall short of it.

Nay, more, the implication of the Verse seems to be—its very construction suggests—that the man whom we receive is as yet an unrecognized prophet, or a man whose conception of right living is not yet admitted by the many; not a popular hero, acclaimed by the multitude, therefore, nor a popular teacher or preacher, followed by an admiring crowd; but a man whose wisdom it takes some wisdom to perceive, or whose goodness it takes some goodness to recognize and admire. And, on the other hand, it is not enough that men run after a teacher simply because he is a reputed heretic, because they love novelty, and he has a new theology or a new morality to offer them. *That* is not to receive a prophet simply because he is a prophet, or a righteous man simply because he is a righteous man. But

if we have stuff enough in us to receive an unrecognized or a discredited prophet purely because we see that he truly interprets God's will to us, however unattractive he may be to us in other respects ; or to receive a righteous man purely because we believe that he is living by a Divine law, although that law may condemn much that we love, then this Promise is ours, and we shall share in the reward of the prophet or of the righteous man we have received.

Then, too, *we shall have proved that we ourselves are of the stuff out of which prophets and righteous men are made*, and so may fairly have part in their reward. That is to say, we shall have shewn that we too can recognize a truth which most of our neighbours have failed to recognize, and can admire and pursue forms of goodness to the claims of which most of our neighbours are insensible. If we love the prophet simply for the truth he teaches, our quick eye for truth, and our hearty appreciation of it, prove that we too are of a prophetic spirit ; for what after all is a prophet but a man who sees truth more quickly, more accurately, more largely than his neighbours, and sets a higher value upon it ? And if we love a righteous man purely for his just and noble way of life, our keen eye for noble ways of living, and our zeal for them, prove that the spirit of the righteous man is in us also ; for what makes him righteous but his quick perception of that which lends nobility and beauty to human life, and his supreme care for a growing correspondence with its highest laws ?

If, then, those who receive a prophet because he is a prophet shew that they share his keen eye for truth, and those who receive a righteous man because he is a righteous man shew that they share his keen and hearty appreciation of righteousness, why should they not share in the reward of those in whose spirit they share ? What is there unjust in that ?

We may be *dumb* prophets, indeed. With the prophetic insight and appreciation, we may lack both the originality of the prophet and his power of eloquent and impressive speech. No vision may break on our inward eye, no oracle flow from our lips; no call to public and eminent service may fall on our ear. And with all our appreciation of a righteous life when we see it, we may lack both the power to imagine, discover, invent a nobler ideal of life for ourselves, and the power so to impress it on our fellows by word and deed as to make it a potent influence for good. In other words, we may have the essential qualities of the prophet or of the righteous man, and yet not have either his gifts or his call to public duty and function.

In his noble *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, Gray has the familiar verse :

“ Some village Hampden that, with dauntless breast,
The little tyrant of the fields withstood :
Some mute inglorious Milton, here may rest,
Some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood.”

The village Hampden may be as true a patriot as the great John Hampden himself, though he moves in a smaller sphere and though the burden of a kingdom's welfare may not rest upon him. The inglorious Milton may be as true a poet as the glorious John Milton, though he be “mute” for lack of culture, or for lack of opportunity. And we may be sure of this, that the glorious Milton would be the very first to recognize a brother poet in the mute inglorious Milton, and that the great and famous patriot would be the first to recognize a kindred spirit in the village Hampden, and the more than regal Cromwell to see himself reflected in the “company of ‘poor men’” who followed him; and to declare, that these were worthy of the same recognition and reward with themselves.

But we need not go to the past for examples. We have

had many prophets and righteous men in our own time, many men who have brought us new or clearer interpretations of the will of God, or have placed truer and nobler ideals of life before us; statesmen, such as Peel, Cobden, Gladstone, who have in some measure discerned the laws which should govern the intercourse of nation with nation, or the relation of class to class: poets, such as Wordsworth, who have taught us to find a Divine Presence and thoughts beyond the reach of words in the whole round of nature, from the clouds that float above our heads and the stars that shine through them, down to the meanest flower that blows: men of letters, such as Carlyle, who have summoned us to live for unselfish and noble ends, rather than for the passing shows and petty gratifications which degrade us while we pursue them and fail us when we grasp them: teachers and preachers, such as Arnold, Maurice, Robertson, Erskine, Lynch, with many more, who have offered us broader and deeper readings of the Word of God, truer conceptions of his character, more comprehensive and catholic views of his providence and his salvation. All these were unpopular for a time, rejected and condemned; prophets without honour; righteous men who were denounced as the enemies of all righteousness. If we received them when the world or the Church rejected them, that could only be because it had pleased God to give us a keener eye for truth or a keener appreciation of that which is right than they had attained who neglected, despised, or denounced them; because, that is, He had in some measure bestowed upon us the very Spirit by which prophets and righteous men are inspired. By our reception of them we gave them courage and helped them to do their work. And hence, in common with all who shared their spirit and aided them in their task, we shall share their reward. *Not unjustly*; for men are to be tried, and ought to be tried, not by their gifts and opportunities mainly, but by the use they

make of them. And if they are faithful in the few things committed to them, what could they do more?

II. Still the question may be fairly asked: "Is there not after all a grave difference between men who have faithfully employed many rare gifts, and so have wrought wonders, changed the face of the world, or touched the heart of the Church to finer issues, and those who have only been faithful with few gifts, and hence have done but little whether for the Church or for the world? Is there not a grave difference, for example, between prophets and righteous men, men who have power to originate and courage to publish new and wider views of truth or new and happier forms of goodness, and those who simply receive them and follow where they lead—a difference in desert, and therefore in reward?"

Surely: we all feel and acknowledge that there is, that there must be, such a difference.

"But if there be, is it not after all unjust to attach the same reward to the services of men of such different calibre, though they are animated by one and the self-same spirit?"

Well, we reply, that depends on what you mean by *Reward*. This is the vital word of the Verse, the word on which all hangs and turns. And it is, I am afraid, our gross misconceptions of the true nature of Reward which have made the Verse difficult and perplexing to us. We too habitually conceive of Reward as some external wage or honour, felicity or advantage, to be conferred upon us, rather than as the inward and inevitable issue of our character and deeds; as some outward good to be added to us, rather than as the internal wealth and power which naturally flow from our being what we are and doing what we have done. Yes, and even when we have learned that the true reward of any wisdom we have gained and used is a larger capacity for wisdom, and that the true

reward of any service we have rendered is power to serve in a more faithful spirit and on a larger scale; even when we have learned that the true reward of having been faithful in a few things, and above all in ruling our own spirits, is to be made rulers over many things, and that we can only rule by serving, we are apt to forget this lofty and generous conception when we read such a passage as that which we are now studying. We fall back on our untaught undisciplined instinct, assume that Reward is an adventitious wage or honour—something to be added to us, not something which grows inevitably out of our life and work,—and to complain of the injustice of the same reward being meted out to men so widely different in their gifts, and in the comparative value of the services they have rendered.

We have only to remember and apply the great principle of Reward which Christ Himself has laid down in order to banish the last shadow of difficulty from the Promise of this Verse. For, of course, the prophet's reward is not a higher seat in heaven, nor a more glorious pomp of happy and splendid circumstance, but a profounder insight into the Will of God and a growing power to utter it; and who will grudge *that* to those who have but received a prophet in the name of a prophet? It is simply their due. It is the natural and necessary result of the qualities they have proved themselves to possess. For they too have shewn that they had some insight into truth, or why did they recognize as true the message which the prophet brought them? They have at least added their Amen to his message, confirming and insisting on it by their very reception of it. And is it not natural that their appetite for truth should grow by what it feeds upon? Is it not just that their insight into truth should be enlarged and their power of affirming it to be true?

So also those who have received a righteous man simply

because he was a righteous man, who have welcomed the new and larger forms of goodness which he has disclosed to them, have, by that very act, proved their affinity with righteousness, their capacity to recognize and appreciate it even when it is rejected and despised. And if the righteous man's reward is to be an added power of discerning righteousness and of serving it, are not they fairly entitled to share in that reward? Must not their keen perception of right and noble ways of life grow keener by exercise, and their love for them deepen as they grow familiar with them?

Thus the apparent injustice of this Promise utterly vanishes, and is replaced by a deep sense of the blended justice and mercy of God's dealings with men. We have only to consider what are the qualities which enable us to receive a prophet or a righteous man, and what the reward of the righteous man and the prophet is to be, in order to see how equitable it is that even we should receive their reward.

III. But though the Promise is thus vindicated, and its true meaning, I trust, brought out, our hearts are so forgetful of what we most need to remember, that it may be well to impress that meaning on them still more deeply by one or two illustrations which lie conveniently at hand. One of our best Reference Bibles¹ points to the Chapters in the Old Testament (1 Kings xvii.; 2 Kings iv.) which record the sojourn of Elijah with the widow of Zarephath, and the sojourn of Elisha with the "great lady" of Shunem, as containing choice illustrations of this Verse. Such illustrations they do undoubtedly contain. But he would be a bold man who should assume that either the Editor of that Bible saw, or that most of his readers will see, *how* these stories illustrate the Promise of Christ.

The widow of Sarepta "received" the prophet Elijah,

¹ That edited by Mr. Gurney, and published by Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode.

although she was of Phœnician and not of Hebrew blood, and when, having come to his own, his own had not received him. She received him purely because he was, because from his aspect, robe, tone, she knew him to be, a prophet. She fetches him water; she bakes him a cake of her last handful of meal; she hospitably entertains him for many days. She even listens to and is moved by his words. By her keen eye for the prophetic credentials, her cordial reception of the man of God, her ready and unaffected deference to his authority, she proved herself to be spiritually akin to the Prophet—proved herself to possess, at least in their rudiments, the very qualities by which he was distinguished; a quick eye for religious truth and an unusual devotion to its claims.

And surely she received a prophet's reward; Yes, but *how*? Are we to find—as so many have found—the reward of her sympathy with truth and righteousness in the fact that, for many days, her barrel of meal wasted not and her cruse of oil did not fail? or even in the fact that she received her son alive again from the dead? Does God requite the hunger for truth with daily bread, and the thirst for righteousness with happy family life? Is *this* the coin in which his prophets take their wages? No, the moment we think of it, we feel that this cannot be their proper reward. Their bread may be certain and their water sure. But physical ease, freedom from care, even the purest earthly happiness, is not that which the prophet seeks first of all, nor is it in this that he finds his real reward. Most of the Hebrew prophets came, indeed, to what the world calls a bad end. Destitute, afflicted, tormented while they lived, after trials of mockings and scourgings, of bonds and imprisonment, they were stoned, they were sawn in sunder, they were slain with the sword. The true and proper reward of those who have shown a keen insight into truth, and an ardent devotion to righteousness cannot, therefore,

be a prosperous and happy life on earth ; it is rather, as we have seen, a still keener and deeper insight into truth, a still larger capacity for righteousness. To be faithful in little is to earn the chance of being faithful with much ; to have done well is to secure an opportunity of doing better.

What was Elijah's own and exceeding great reward ? That he could smite the living with death and quicken the dead to life, call down fire and famine from heaven, shake even the hard proud heart of a despot with foreboding fears, and put a whole nation to the ban ? Nay, but rather that, as he fulfilled his stormy function, he learned that there is more of God in the still small voice of conviction and persuasion than in the tempest, fire, and earthquake of judgment, and so was prepared for a gentler, that is, a higher, ministry above ; insomuch that we may well believe that he who was caught up to heaven as in a car of blazing fire, now rides through the plains of heaven as in a chariot of radiant but healing and gracious light. If we would find the true reward of the poor widow who received him, therefore, we must listen to her as "receiving her dead (son) by a resurrection," she cries—not "Thank God, I have my boy again !" but—"Now by this *I know* that thou art a man of God, and *that the word of the Lord* in thy mouth is *truth*": for here, too, insight was rewarded by deeper insight, and deference for what she thought might be true grew into a strong belief in what she knew to be true.

So, again, the great lady of Shunem, who dwelt, and was content to dwell, "among her own folk," on her own estate, rather than to stale herself in the courts of kings, simply because she perceived that Elisha was "a holy man of God," *i.e.*, a truly righteous man, "received" him, built him a pretty chamber,¹ furnished it with her best,² and

¹ Not, as in our Authorised Version, "a little chamber on the wall," but "a little chamber *with walls*."

² Not "a stool," but "a seat of honour."

constrained him to lodge and eat there as often as he passed that way.

And she, too, had her reward, the reward of a righteous man. But her reward was not simply that her son was given to her when her husband was old, or even that her son was brought back to her from the gates of death: and still less was it that she was taught how to escape the horrors of a seven years famine, and regained her estate when she returned to the wasted land because of the kindness she had formerly shewn to the Prophet.¹ Children and estates are not the natural and proper rewards of righteousness. No, her true reward was the natural growth of her trust in the man whom she felt to be righteous, and a growing value for the righteousness she saw in him. The Shunamite's husband saw little in Elisha, and could not understand, even when their only child lay dead in the house, why his wife should want to ride over to him, since it was neither new moon nor Sabbath. The good rich farmer did not care that too much fuss should be made about righteousness, or religion, even when hearts were sore and sorrowful, though he was not adverse to a decent observance of religious customs. But *she* felt that her only

¹ The sequel to the pretty idyllic story told in 2 Kings iv. 8-37, is given in 2 Kings viii. 1-6; but it is so much less known than it deserves to be—for it contains one of the most striking and picturesque coincidences in the whole field of literature—that I doubt whether the allusion to it in the text will be taken. In effect, it runs thus: Elisha forewarns the lady of the great famine, and bids her go abroad to escape it. She dwells in the land of the Philistines for seven weary years, and returns "to cry unto the king for her house and her land." "And the king," continues the sacred chronicler, "talked with Gehazi, the servant of the man of God, saying, Tell me, I pray thee, all the great things that Elisha hath done. And it came to pass, as he was telling the king how he restored a dead body to life, that, behold, the woman whose son he had restored to life cried to the king for her house and for her land. And Gehazi said, My lord, O king, this is the woman, and this her son, whom Elisha restored to life. And when the king asked the woman, she told him. So the king appointed unto her a certain eunuch, saying, Restore all that was hers, and all the fruits of the field since the day that she left the land even until now."

comfort, and her only hope of help, lay in the righteous man whom she had received. And so she "runs over," and clings to his feet, and will not leave him, no, not even when he has sent Gehazi to "awake the child." Her trust is in righteousness, and in its power with God; and perhaps she knew too much of Gehazi to think him a righteous man. None but Elisha will serve her turn: for, to her, Elisha is the holiest man on earth. In fine, as we read and ponder her story, we cannot but mark how her trust in the man of God, and in the God of this good man, strengthened and deepened; we cannot but feel that it was in her growing trust in Righteousness she found her share in the righteous man's reward.

IV. Thus explained and thus illustrated, the Promise of our Lord is not only purged from every shadow of injustice, but grows rife with valuable suggestion. For it is not hard for us to see that the best and highest reward both of the poor widow of Zarephath and of the great lady of Shunem, for the love of truth and goodness which led them to receive a prophet and a righteous man, was not any temporal and therefore temporary advantage which accrued to them thereby; but that they were thus led to love truth more and to pursue a loftier ideal of life. "This," we say, "was their true reward, since it elevated and enriched them, not in time only but for eternity as well as for time; since it was inward, not outward; choice, not vulgar; permanent, not transitory—raising them indeed above "all the chances and changes of this mortal" world.

What, then, except our own worldly prepossessions and carnal inclinations, hinders us from seeing that what was best for them is also best for us, and that we are to take, as our reward for any love of truth or right we have already shewn, power to see truth more clearly and to live a nobler life? "Walk in the light, and you shall have more light; Do that which is right, and you shall learn to do

it more easily, more deftly, and more effectually:" is not this the constant teaching of the Gospel? Does it not set forth the natural, logical, and proper connexion between our deeds and their results, and therefore the natural, logical, and proper conception of Reward?

(a) But if we have once reached the conviction, that the true reward of loving truth and seeking after righteousness is not outward happiness, but inward peace; not easy temporal conditions, but permanent elevation of character and aim; not a wage which we may take and spend in a few days or years, and after that be none the better for it, but an interior wealth which will accumulate the more the more we spend it, and for which we shall always be the better and the better off: if, I say, we have once grasped this conviction, what a flood of light it pours on all the darker aspects of our lot! Love of truth and devotion to simple and noble ways of life may not bring us, we have no right to expect that they should bring, the kind of success, prosperity, reputation, or honour which most men seek; for these, instead of quickening our perception of truth, might only dull it, instead of elevating our ideal of conduct, might only lower it. And if they *would* dull the inward eye and lower the tone of our inward life, we do not and cannot desire them, since to gain these would be to lose our truest and highest reward. On the other hand, pain, loss, sorrow, bereavement, the ill-will and ill-word of men who love the world and the world's law, may and should drive us to seek truth and righteousness more earnestly than ever, and to rest in them as the supreme, the only satisfying and enduring, good. And if they do, if they open our eyes more widely to the value of truth and nerve our hearts to a more steadfast pursuit of righteousness; if, as we stand stripped and well nigh alone, we feel that little but our own life is left us, and that no consolation or resource is open to us but to make that life as pure, noble, serviceable, and

kindly as we can, the very things which were once most hateful to us become welcome; our loss is our gain, our sorrow must turn to joy. We shall feel our kinship with prophets and righteous men, and acknowledge that we have received their reward—a reward infinitely more precious than any or all the gifts of earth and time.

This is the most general, and perhaps the most valuable, practical suggestion of our Promise; for it belongs to all men as well as to us, and brings us strength and consolation just when we most need them; but there are other practical applications of it which, though more special and limited in their range, are not without value.

(*β*) It holds both warning and encouragement for a considerable class very likely to have some representatives among the readers of this Magazine; a class of men each of whom might honestly say for himself: "Well, *I* have always given a cordial reception to the prophets and righteous men of my time; I have loved to listen to their new and larger views of truth and duty, and I have adopted them. There is not a statesman, a poet, a man of letters, a preacher or divine, among all those who have been referred to as the saints and seers of our own day and generation, whom I have not admired and followed. Nay, I admired them, and espoused their cause, long before to honour them became a fashion, when they were neglected, reviled, condemned. If, therefore, any man may take this Promise to himself, and look to share in their reward, surely I may."

Granted; but remember that you have not truly "received" these prophets and righteous men unless you have allowed their wider interpretations of the Divine Word and Will to shape your thoughts, your habits, your ideals, your aims. Remember that your reward is to grow out of your character and conduct, and is to consist in new power to recognize what is true and to do what is right. No

admiration of truth is genuine which does not make you true; no admiration of righteousness is sincere which does not make you righteous.

This is your warning; and your encouragement is that, if you honestly admire, if you have sincerely loved truth and righteousness, even when they came to you in new and unpopular forms, you are of kin to the prophets and righteous men whom you received, and by whom God has made you what you are and taught you what you know; and, therefore, you will share their reward. Before you, as before them, there opens the happy prospect of ever coming to a closer and fuller knowledge of the truth, and of ever growing into a closer correspondence with the righteous and perfect will of God: than which no higher honour, no dearer reward, no purer bliss, can be conferred on any of the sons of men.

(γ) Ministers and clergymen, again, are often pitied on this very ground, that their reward is so uncertain or so small. The more thoughtful and kindly members of our congregations are apt to speak of the sacrifices we have made, of the success, or fortune, or honour we might have secured in other professions, and to lament that so little is done for us, that even they themselves can do so little. And, no doubt, there are some of us who might have done what the world calls "well" for ourselves, had we cared; as there are others for whom the Church might reasonably do a little more; and still others, alas, who are too prone to join in the lament over their lost opportunities and wasted lives. But *we* of all men, ought to remember that the reward of the prophet and of the righteous man is always open to us, that it is never withheld from any who deserve it; and that this reward is the most enriching and ennobling, the most satisfying and enduring, which God can bestow or man receive. If we really love and serve the truth, we are always coming to a larger and closer know-

ledge of the truth ; always enlarging, refining, illuminating the eyes of the soul ; always gaining in insight and in power to utter what we see. If we love and serve righteousness, our conception of it is always growing, its attraction for us always becoming more potent ; its transforming energy is always working more harmoniously and effectually upon us. And if that be so, of what have we to complain after all, we, who are the sworn servants of truth and righteousness, and who profess that, as compared with these, all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them are but dross ? The very narrowness, simplicity, and poverty of the conditions under which so many of us live and work may but throw us the more exclusively and more earnestly into those interior aims and pursuits in which alone men truly live ; and if they do, even these should be welcome to us, since they are helpful to us—as they should also be welcome to every Christian man to whose spiritual insight and capacity they minister. Ill-paid by men we may be, or under-paid, or even not paid at all ; but if we are learning to see truth more clearly and handle it more wisely, if we are learning that nothing but righteousness can sustain and strengthen us as we pass through these brief broken hours of time or prepare us for eternity, and are therefore ever seeking after purer manners, nobler ideals, higher laws, *God* is paying us well enough, and a great deal better than we deserve ; paying us *here and now*, and not only hereafter ; enriching us with the only true wealth, distinguishing us with the only true honour. We of all men ought to rejoice that our real reward lies purely in our own power ; that it is one which neither the world nor the Church can either give or take away.

(8) And, last of all, I should like to raise this question : Are we not apt to pity the prophets and righteous men of our own day a little too much, and to mourn more than is good for them or for us over the hard fate of the statesmen,

poets, artists, men of science and men of letters, preachers and divines, who were before their time ; who saw truths their neighbours did not see and *would* try to make them see them ; who discovered ideals of life larger and higher than those which were currently entertained and which were endeared by long use and wont, and even to press them on a stiff-necked and reluctant generation.

As we look back on the years in which these noble spirits were slighted, thwarted, reviled, condemned, we grieve over the wrongs, sufferings, and persecutions they were called to endure from men unworthy to tie their shoes, and glow into hot indignation against those who so evil entreated their wisest teachers, their most generous benefactors. And perhaps we *ought* to pity men to whom we owe so much, and to resent the ill-usage they received. But surely we ought not to forget that such men as Hampden, Milton, Galileo, Erasmus ; or, to come nearer home, such men as Carlyle, Wordsworth, Arnold, Maurice, Kingsley, Robertson, Lynch, *had* their reward, and an exceeding great and precious reward, even before the world or the Church "received" them. Such men, themselves being witness, are often the better for the very neglect and opposition they encounter ; for they are driven in upon themselves and on the truths they have seen, the ideals of conduct they have framed ; they are compelled to test and re-test them ; their faith in them deepens ; their advocacy of them grows more ardent and irresistible ; they are loved by a few even more cordially than they are hated by the many, loved all the more because of the unjust hatred to which they are exposed ; and at last they conquer all opposition, and secure an influence which is all the wider and the more potent because it has been secured by conquest. But what we have chiefly to mark is that, all the while the strife goes on, before they conquer, and even though they should never conquer, they get their reward, get it in full. God

pays them, if man does not—pays them liberally, lavishly—in that He gives them a surer vision of the truths they teach and a firmer grasp of them ; or in that He gives them a larger conception of what Righteousness includes, and a devotion to it which fills and absorbs their whole soul. *This* is the prophet's reward ; this the reward of the righteous man. And if they have this, what more can they ask, save that *all* the Lord's people should become prophets ?

In proportion as they are true to their high calling, they will be content with their true reward ; content ? nay, elate, as those whom God, not man, has crowned. In the very proportion in which they are not content, but harp on the sacrifices they once made, the wrongs they once endured, and the dangers they once affronted, we may be sure that they lack the true prophetic character. The men who are for ever recalling and bewailing what they have suffered and lost by their fidelity to conviction—and it must be sorrowfully admitted that there are some such men among those who have been the champions of neglected truths and despised ideals—are too often men who have grown fat on their losses and risen to distinction by their very persecutions. And their eternal lament does but prove that they are not true followers of Him who was and is the Truth, and yet had not where to lay his head.

S. Cox.

CHRIST'S USE OF SCRIPTURE.

EVERY careful student of the New Testament is aware that in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke there are several passages which, though not verbally quite identical, are too nearly so for us to believe that they can be independent reports. They have evidently been derived from an account of the words and actions of Christ which was committed to writing before the composition of any of the existing Gospels, and perhaps during Christ's ministry on earth. This was certainly the work of some one who was in constant attendance on Christ; very likely of the Apostle Peter, who, as we know from his first Epistle, many years afterwards regarded himself as the father of Mark, probably the Evangelist of that name.¹ This narrative must have been but fragmentary; otherwise it would no doubt have been preserved in the Church, instead of being superseded, as it has been, by the three Synoptic Gospels. Some of the passages which must have been taken from this lost original Gospel are to be found, with more or less variation, in two of the Synoptic Gospels only; others, in all the three.

One of these, which is found with no important variation in all the Synoptic Gospels, is the most remarkable instance on record of the use made by Christ of the Scriptures of the Old Testament. It occurs immediately after his answer to the foolish and captious question of certain Sadducees who asked Him who, in the Resurrection, would be the husband of a woman that had been the wife of seven men successively. He told them that their question did not admit of any such answer as they sought, because, in the life of the Resurrection, there is no such relation as marriage; but that as to the truth of the Resurrection, which they denied, and by their question were trying to

¹ 1 Peter v. 13.

discredit, they ought to have found sufficient proof of it in the writings of Moses, to which alone they looked as an authoritative guide. Our Lord's words are as follows (I quote from the Revised Version):—

“Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven. But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living” (Matthew xxii. 29–32).

“Is it not for this cause that ye err, that ye know not the scriptures, nor the power of God? For when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as angels in heaven. But as touching the dead, that they are raised, have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the place concerning the Bush, how God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but of the living: ye do greatly err” (Mark xii. 24–27).

“The sons of this world marry and are given in marriage: but they that are accounted worthy to attain to that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage: for neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection. But that the dead are raised, even Moses shewed in the place concerning the Bush, when he called the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Now he is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for we all live unto him” (Luke xx. 34–38).

In some of Christ's applications of Scripture, He claims for Himself a peculiar relation to it; as in that memor-

able discourse in the synagogue at Nazareth, where He announces the fulfilment of prophecy, and Himself as fulfilling it;¹ or in the Sermon on the Mount, where He claims for Himself authority to correct, to add to, or to supersede the laws of Moses. But in the greatest number of instances where He quotes from the Scriptures, He does not speak "with authority," as fulfilling a prophecy or making a revelation, but uses Scripture, as his disciples from St. Paul downwards have constantly done, for illustration and enforcement of the truths on which He is insisting.

The passage now under consideration belongs to the second of these two classes. Christ here claims for Himself no special relation to Scripture. He is not speaking "with authority," or making any new revelation. He is neither fulfilling the prophecies of Isaiah nor correcting the laws of Moses; He is telling his audience what they ought to have found in Moses for themselves.

In order fully to understand our Lord's drift in this discourse, we must remember that the Sadducees, to whom it was addressed, regarded the Prophets, as well as the Psalms and the other Hagiographia, as inferior in authority to the Books of Moses. Now it is quite true that the five books ascribed to Moses do not contain a single distinct assertion of immortality or a resurrection; and we may reasonably assume that the Sadducees, when pressed with passages from the later Scriptures which do assert it—such as that from David, "I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with Thy likeness,"² or that from Job, "I know that my Avenger [or Redeemer] liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and after I shall awake, though this body be destroyed, yet out of my flesh shall I see God,"³—we may reasonably assume, I say, that the

¹ Luke iv. 16, 21.

² Psalm xvii. 15.

³ Job xix. 25, 26, marginal reading, and introducing the literally correct translation *Avenger*.

Sadducees used to reply: "Those sayings are all from books of inferior authority; but shew us any distinct assertion of the Resurrection in the books of Moses, and we will believe it." To this thought of theirs Christ replied by telling them that there is more in Scripture than the mere letter; and that if they had known how to read between the lines of Moses, they would have found the doctrine of immortality there.

The case of the seven brothers and the wife was probably imaginary—what lawyers call an A B case—and had perhaps been often used in order to puzzle Pharisees and throw ridicule on the Resurrection. We do not know what the Pharisaic answer was, but we may suppose that a Pharisee would have been ready with his reasons for awarding the wife in dispute to either the first or the last of her seven husbands. Christ, on the contrary, does not condescend to answer the question at all, but explains that it is a foolish and unmeaning question which ought not to have been asked.

There is something strange in the words of rebuke: "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God." Not knowing the Scriptures! They were doubtless well acquainted with the letter of Scripture. And not knowing the power of God! They had never thought of doubting it; and, besides, what had the power of God to do with the question? These words must have seemed to them mere heated invective. But though they knew the letter of the Scriptures, they did not know the Scriptures aright; and though they never doubted the power of God, they really, though unconsciously, disparaged it, by suggesting as possible that, if it were God's will to raise the dead, He could be hindered by any difficulty about the rights of husbands.

The same answer may sometimes be appropriate still. It has been seriously maintained—maintained, I mean, not

by scoffers but by believers—that the doctrine of the Resurrection implies the gathering together, at the voice of the Archangel and the trump of God, of all the atoms of matter which constituted the body of each individual man at the moment of his death, in order that out of them the resurrection bodies may be rebuilt. To such a fancy as this we may reply in the words of our Lord and of St. Paul, “Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. Thou sowest not the body that shall be. It is raised a spiritual body.”

More remarkable still, however, is the concluding sentence of Christ's reply, in which He asserts that sufficient proof of the Resurrection ought to be found in a passage of Moses where the Resurrection, or Immortality, is not mentioned. The Sadducees, we are told, were put to silence by it.¹ They had no answer ready which was at once plausible and popular, and perhaps the novelty of Christ's argument confounded them. But they were not convinced, and we may imagine one of them saying to another on their way home:—“See to what straits the defenders of the doctrine of a Resurrection are driven, when they come to argue the question on the only sure ground of the letter of Scripture! A Pharisee would not have put himself so evidently in the wrong as this poor ignorant Nazarene has done, by quoting as decisive of the question a passage which has no bearing on it whatever.” And we may fancy the other replying:—“He does not know what a syllogism is. But if he had the faintest idea of logic, he would have seen that his argument tells quite the other way. Because God called Himself the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, after they had lain for centuries dead, it follows that God *is* a God of the dead as well as of the living.”

¹ Matthew xxii. 34.

Now if we confine ourselves to the ground of merely grammatical and logical interpretation, we cannot shew that the Sadducees would have been wrong in making such comments; and though the present writer never doubted the authority of Christ or the truth of the Resurrection, yet he well remembers being perplexed and almost offended by the logic of this passage; and the difficulty would probably be felt more generally than it is, were it not for the prevalence of an almost mechanical conception of Christ's authority. To the believer, the authority of Christ is supreme when He puts it forth. When He says, "*I say unto you, Love your enemies,*"¹ it is the believer's duty to do his best to obey, trusting that by thus doing God's will he will learn to understand the doctrine, and to see its reasonableness, if he does not see it already—and experience shews that he *will* learn to understand it and see its reasonableness. But this is inapplicable to the passage before us. Christ is not here putting forth his authority; on the contrary, He condescends to reason. He does not now preface his words with "I say unto you." He who in conversation with his trusting friend, Martha of Bethany, claimed to be the Resurrection and the Life,² here tells the unbelieving and hostile Sadducees that they greatly erred when they failed to read the doctrine of the Resurrection into a passage in Moses where it is not expressly revealed. Now if we who believe in Christ are content to accept this argument as a sound one on Christ's mere authority, we shall learn no lesson from it whatever; it will be to us only one among many assertions of the Resurrection, and will certainly not convince any one who remains unconvinced by St. Paul. What we are meant to learn by this passage—so remarkably repeated in the three Synoptic Gospels—is the lawfulness and the duty of interpreting Scripture by the spirit

¹ Matthew v. 44.

² John xi. 25.

rather than the letter, and bringing higher principles to the work than those of technical grammar and mechanical logic.

This is a lesson which the Church has not yet sufficiently learned. Worship of the letter is deeply rooted in human nature. Every teacher of those subjects which make demands on the understanding rather than the memory must, if he knows his business, feel that he has constantly to struggle against the tendency in his pupils to trust to a rule that can be remembered, rather than to a principle that can be understood and applied. In such subjects as logic and mathematics every one sees that this is a human weakness ; no one would call a man a mathematician, though he might be a calculator, merely because he could apply rules without understanding why they are true : but, in religion and theology, people often make a boast of not ascending from rules to principles : to use expressions which have obtained currency, they demand "chapter and verse for everything," and pride themselves on not going "beyond the things which are written."

As this last expression occurs in Scripture, and, like many other expressions of Scripture, is habitually and grievously misapplied, let us examine it in its context. It occurs in that introductory part of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, where its author is warning his converts against the spirit of pride, boastfulness, and schism. The entire passage is as follows, quoting from the Revised Version :—

"Now these things, brethren, I have in a figure transferred to myself and Apollos for your sakes ; that in us ye might learn *not to go beyond the things which are written* ; that no one of you be puffed up for the one against the other. For who maketh thee to differ ? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive ? but if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it ?" (1 Cor. iv. 6, 7).

The translation does not shew, what is obvious in the

Greek, that the expression "not beyond the things which are written" is quoted as being proverbial. This is implied in the use of the article introducing the quoted clause:—the Greek is *ὥτα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἀ γέγραπται*,¹ and Canon Evans² translates, or paraphrases, "That you may learn the (lesson), Not above what is written," adding, "This expression refers apparently to the moral tenor of the books of the Old Testament. No allusion to a special text. It seems to denote a sort of ethical canon of the Scriptures, and the Corinthian brethren are here exhorted not to transgress this canon, but to keep within its limits by following the specific pattern of modesty and humility adumbrated to them by Paul and Apollos. This view is strengthened by the moral drift of the citations already made from the Old Testament in this Epistle." Dean Stanley, similarly, paraphrases it by "Learn *that well known lesson*, not to go beyond what the Scriptures prescribe." If any particular passages of Scripture are alluded to (though this supposition appears quite unnecessary), they are most probably those quoted already in the Epistle, all of which tend to inculcate the virtue of humility. They are as follows, quoting not the Old Testament originals, but the Apostle's quotations of them, with his introductory words. I again quote from the Revised Version.

"For the word of the cross is to them that are perishing foolishness; but to us which are being saved it is the power of God. For it is written,

I will destroy the wisdom of the wise,
And the prudence of the prudent will I reject" (Isa.
xxix. 14:—1 Cor. i. 18, 19).

"Christ Jesus was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification and redemption: that,

¹ δ (plural) not δ (singular) is the reading adopted by the Revisers.

² Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament, vol. iii. p. 270.

according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord " (Jer. ix. 24 :—1 Cor. i. 30, 31).

" For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. For it is written, He that taketh the wise in their own craftiness (Job v. 13); and again, The Lord knoweth the reasonings of the wise, that they are vain " (Ps. xciv. 11 :—1 Cor. iii. 19, 20).

The proverbial warning, " Not beyond the things which are written," then, has nothing to do with principles of interpretation, but is directed, with the whole of the first four chapters of the Epistle, against the temper of boastfulness and strife.

In the second Epistle to the Corinthians occurs the remarkable saying, that " the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life " (Chap. iii. 6). This is almost the formal and logical opposite of the other saying, " Not to go beyond the things which are written." Neither of these, however, has anything to do with principles of interpretation; and the meaning of the latter is what the Apostle afterwards worked out in the earlier chapters of the Epistle to the Romans; namely, that the law, alone, is but a sentence of death, while the Gospel is a spiritual revelation, and brings life. But though not really relevant, these words may be applied with truth to our Lord's answer to the Sadducees. If read according to the mere letter, the saying that God is the God of the ancient patriarchs proves that God is a God of the dead, because the patriarchs have died. But the spirit giveth life, and the spiritual mind has the power and the right to read, between the lines of the Old Testament, the truth that God must be the God of the living, and that the patriarchs must therefore be heirs of life. Christ, in his comment on this passage, has taught us that in the interpretation of Scripture we *ought* to go beyond the things which are written;—beyond the letter to the spirit. For, let us repeat it again, He does not here say, though He might have said, " I say

unto you ; " what He implies is rather, " You ought to have seen this for yourselves."

The same principle is ever applicable when any attempt is made to restrict the spirit of Christianity in the name of the letter of Scripture. When we are told on the strength of the apparent grammatical meaning of texts of Scripture, or of logical inference from them, that God's mercy is limited by his own arbitrary "election," or that it can extend only to those who have learned to repeat an orthodox creed, or to those who have known Christ in the present life, or to those who have repented before death ;—granting, what is too much to grant, that the interpretations are grammatically correct and the logic accurate, we still may appeal from the letter to the spirit, and say that no interpretation and no inference can be sound if they contradict the doctrine of the Friend of God, that *the Judge of all the earth will do right*,¹ or the doctrine of the Beloved Disciple, twice in these words repeated in his first Epistle,² that *God is love*.

In conclusion, What is the meaning of the saying with which, in St. Luke's account, our Lord ends his reply : " For all live unto Him ? " Does it only mean that all who live, live unto God ? This makes sense, and is in accordance with the use of the word *life* in the Scriptures ; for this word is never applied to a state of separation from God, to Hades or Gehenna. But is it not rather a hint of what has been more clearly revealed through the Apostle of the Gentiles ; —that a time will come, when, all other enemies having been abolished, death shall be abolished also, and God shall be all in all ?³

JOSEPH JOHN MURPHY.

¹ Genesis xviii. 25.

² 1 John iv. 8, 16.

³ 1 Corinthians xv. 26, 28.

THE WITCH OF ENDOR.

It is hardly possible to over-estimate the value of the recent survey of Palestine in throwing light on obscure portions of the Bible narrative. Nothing enables us to realize scenes enacted long ago so truthfully as accurate descriptions of the localities in which they took place. Mr. Conder's short paragraph¹ on the position of Endor is an admirable example of the worth of his labours.

The remarkable narrative contained in 1 Samuel xxviii. 7-25, derives its importance from its being the only instance of its kind to be found in the Bible; and, further, from the inference usually drawn from it, that a belief in witchcraft was countenanced by Holy Writ. The object of this paper is to shew not only that this inference is not justified by the facts, but that the passage yields some suggestions which throw doubt upon the assumption that the belief in witchcraft finds *any* support in the Old Testament.

It can hardly be necessary to remind the reader of the extent to which the human mind is liable to illusion of many kinds. Some of the hallucinations to which we are subject are permanent and deeply rooted, as, for example, that by which we every day are led to imagine that we see the sun moving through the sky; others, as for instance, ghost-seeing, are of a more transitory nature. Indeed we must remember that in every act of sense-perception there is a double process; there is the reception of an impression from an external object, and the interpretation of the impression so received. Hence anything that interferes with either part of this two-fold process, anything which renders the impression imperfect, or our interpretation of its contents erroneous, will inevitably lead to illusion more or less complete. In normally constituted beings, a state of

¹ "Tent Work in Palestine," p. 64.

deep exhaustion, whether bodily or mental, will materially interfere with the action of the senses. The eye can no longer see, the ear can no longer detect and classify sounds, with their wonted delicacy; and they are apt to deliver, in an incorrect manner, what they actually receive from without. But, further, the presence of any morbid emotion, in conjunction with exhaustion of the brain, will so colour the sense-impressions, themselves only imperfectly received, that the judgment formed as to the character of external objects will be utterly unreliable, and a complete illusion must result.

If, in the narrative we are to examine, we find prominence given to every circumstance which, according to the brief account just sketched, would imply the existence of a predisposition to illusion of various kinds, it is certainly just to infer that the author meant us to read his story in that light. Now, in his interview with the Witch of Endor, Saul is brought before us as suffering from both the disturbing influences described above. The Philistines, we are told, were already gathered in their strength (Verse 4), and Saul had laboured hard to collect his troops at Gilboa. Doubting the result of the impending conflict, he asked counsel of God, who answered him neither by dreams nor by Urim; nor did He commission any prophet to come to his aid. What with incessant watching for a Divine sign by day, and what with restlessness by night, brought on by the eager expectation of a God-sent dream, we might have inferred him to be weary and exhausted in body and brain. But we are not left to conjecture. We are expressly told that "*there was no strength in him; for he had eaten no bread all the day, nor all the night*" (Verse 20). Consider, too, what must have been his state of mind. We are told, in a few but significant words, that "*he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled*" (Verse 5). And had he not full reason for dreading

the coming strife? Saul was not a coward who would lie down and weep because his enemies stood arrayed against him. "Swifter than the eagle, stronger than the lion, the sword of Saul returned not empty" (2 Sam. i.). But he felt himself deserted. Samuel had died;¹ and he must now look

¹ It is an interesting conjecture, of great antiquity, that Samuel had died but shortly before. The Midrash, if I remember rightly, asserts that not more than four months elapsed between Samuel's death and the death of Saul. Certainly, the repetition of the statement of the death of the seer at the beginning of this Chapter, seems to imply that it was a recent event.

The following extract from an important Rabbinical work on Biblical Chronology may be of interest as exemplifying the older method of this species of criticism: Eli ruled Israel for forty years (1 Sam. iv. 18), and on the day of his death God "forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh, the tent which He placed among men, and delivered His strength (i.e. the ark) into captivity" (Ps. lxxviii. 60). The ark was with the Philistines 7 months (1 Sam. vi. 1), and after its recovery it abode in Kirjath-jearim for 20 years (1 Sam. vii. 2). David removed the ark thence after he had reigned for 7 years in Hebron (2 Sam. ii.), and thus his reign commenced 13 years after the ark first reached Kirjath-jearim. Now the year in which Saul was elected king was the 10th year after the death of Eli and the capture of the ark; in the 11th year after that event, Saul, obedient to Samuel (1 Sam. x. 8) defeated Nahaash the Ammonite, and confirmed himself in the throne (*Ib.* xi. 12), in the following year (xiii. 1) Saul failed to wait patiently for Samuel (verse 9), and the latter on his arrival severely blamed his disobedience and announced that his rule would not be lasting (*Ib.* verse 14). At this period David was first anointed king (*Ib.* xvi. 1), and was 29 years old, thus being in the 30th year of his age (2 Sam. v), when the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul (1 Sam. xviii.). Samuel lived to the age of 52 years and a few months; for in 1 Sam. i. the reference, "Now Eli the priest sat upon a seat by a post of the temple of the Lord," seems to imply that Eli's appointment as judge was recent; Eli's death occurred 40 years later. Samuel lived 13 years beyond that date, but was not born till late in the first year of Eli's rule. Further, Samuel died four months before Saul; for we are told in 1 Sam. xxvii. 7, "And the time that David dwelt in the country of the Philistines was four months; and that period covered the interval between the death of Samuel and that of Saul." (*Seder Olam Rabbah*, ascribed to Rabbi José ben Halafta, ch. xiii.) The word ימים which occurs in the last cited text means at least two days, and might bear the interpretation given it in the English Version, "a full year," did the context permit. But Raschi and other commentators argue that the latter rendering is impossible. David, the former remarks *ad loc.*, did not betake himself to the Philistines till after the death of Samuel, and the period referred to in 1 Sam. xxvii. 7 terminated with the death of Saul, and the latter could not have survived Samuel more than about four months, as the following independent considerations shew. From the commencement of Eli's rule to the end of the 7th year of David's reign are $40 + 20 = 60$ years. Samuel's death took place 52 and a fraction years (the fraction being greater than half a year) after the former event, thus leaving 7 years and a small fraction from his death till the end of David's 7

forward to the fulfilment of the dead seer's gloomy predictions. What more natural than for Saul to imagine that the day of reckoning was at length about to dawn, and that the myriads of his foes were hurrying to put into execution the punishment decreed of God so long before? He is unable to bear the suspense any longer; he *will* find out, if not by fair means, then by foul, what is about to happen to him, and in what all those dark forebodings are to end. He who had so conspicuously shewn himself superior to ordinary superstitions, by removing from his territory "all those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land" (Verse 3), now, in the moment of his dire perplexity, groping everywhere for guidance and finding every avenue closed up against him, allows his fears to get the better of his reason, and seeks, if not for a professional soothsayer or diviner, at least for one pretending to the power of divulging the future. Accordingly Saul disguises himself, so far as disguise is possible, and presents himself at the dwelling of the witch at Endor—the witch, be it noted, being recommended to Saul *by his servants*. Two points in the journey demand attention; first, that it was performed by night, and with only two attendants (Verse 8).

"Light thickens; and the crow
Makes wing to the rooky wood:
Good things of day begin to droop and drowse;
Whiles night's black agents to their prey do rouse."

Macbeth, iii. 2.

But, next, it must be observed that this was by no means the only, or the chief peculiarity of that silent journey. The Philistines were encamped at Shunem (Verse 4) "on the southern slopes of the mountain," while Saul had

years, which began at the death of Saul. Hence only a fraction of a year (*less than six months*) is left as the interval between Samuel's death and Saul's meeting with the Witch of Endor. These calculations are of course open to criticism; but the worst that can be alleged against them is, that they are not the only possible conclusions which can be drawn from somewhat intricate data.

pitched in Jezreel. Now Endor, which is east of Nain and north of Shunem, could only be reached from Jezreel by passing through Shunem. Hence Saul must needs pass through the Philistine army on his strange errand. Mud-huts hedged by prickly pears now mark the site of the scene of his perilous adventure. A bare and stony hillside, "with a low ledge of rock in which rude entrances are cut," and, in particular, one remarkable cave, round which runs "a curious circle of rocks, which form a sort of protection, and resemble somewhat a Druidical circle, though the formation is probably natural."¹ This would offer a not inappropriate scene for the extraordinary meeting between the king and the sorceress; nor can we help recognizing the admirable skill and forethought manifested in the selection of so dark and inaccessible a spot for the exercise of the witch's secret and nefarious arts.

Thus the condition, mental and physical, of the king, the circumstances in which he was placed, the perilous nature of his night journey, and the peculiar appropriateness of the locality in which the scene is laid, are all vividly brought before us in the terse but suggestive narrative in Samuel. It is just these facts and circumstances which would make Saul a ready dupe to illusion; and the author who brings them into such marked prominence may be fairly presumed to have anticipated the inference we draw from them.

But we shall find that this inference is strongly confirmed by the further circumstances which remain to be discussed. Saul, we have seen, attempted to conceal his identity from the witch (Verse 8); but it is fair to infer that she recognized him at once. Apart from the fact that Saul must have been well known to his subjects, we must remember that his stature was too remarkable to render disguise easy. His height alone must have betrayed him; for "from his

¹ Conder, "Tent Work in Palestine," p. 64.

shoulders and upwards he was higher than any of the people" (1 Sam. ix. 2). But, further, the woman plays a skilfully acted part in inquiring her visitor's rank; and, when he asks her to bring up him whom he shall name, she feigns reluctance until he assures her of immunity. Even if she had not known him from the first, could she fail to recognize him now, seeing that he can swear to her a great oath by the living Lord that she shall suffer no harm if she comply with his request?

The narrative proceeds thus: "Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice, and the woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul" (Verses 11 and 12). There can be no doubt that these verses are clouded in deep obscurity. If the woman really saw Samuel, we must suppose either that her incantation was successful, or that God interposed to bring about a result which the witch little expected. As Trench remarks: "None was more amazed at the success of her necromancies than the sorceress herself." The alternative is clearly untenable. It is simply impossible to suppose that God, who had refused to answer Saul when he sought counsel in a legal way, would respond to the pressure of illegal rites. But if that be so, the question presents itself, how could the woman's incantations be successful when they had not yet been performed? There is not a word in the text which implies that there was any interval of time between Verse 11 and Verse 12. It cannot be that so important a detail is suppressed as unnecessary, nor was there any reluctance on the part of the sacred writers to divulge details of this character (see Ezek. xxi. 21 seq.). It remains to suggest another explanation.

It might be suggested that the verb רָאָה, here translated as meaning "to see," is used in much the same general

sense as is its English equivalent.¹ This, indeed, is an idea which I might be inclined to work out were I not prepared with a different and less obvious interpretation, which I now proceed to offer.

An ancient superstition, very widely spread, attributed to the sorcerer a singular power over any person with whose name he was correctly acquainted. So strong was the confidence in this strange power, that the members of some tribes would never allow their names to be told to strangers; while others were always known by names different to their true ones, in order to prevent injury to themselves.² In the Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (1852), in the sixth part of the Sarapian divinations there described, a charm is mentioned for enabling the operator to become acquainted with the real names of the living and the dead. But this is not the exact point I am insisting on now. I wish particularly to call attention to the use that was made of *names* in sorcery of this kind. We meet with accounts in which the name of the person to be called up is formally written down by the sorcerer's client. Similar rites are fully described in such works as Lane's "Modern Egyptians."³ As the writer of the article referred to before well remarks: "The importance attached by the ancient thaumaturgists to a knowledge and use of the true names of beings they wished to invoke is well known. . . . Hebrew names were supposed to have a great effect."⁴ I therefore suggest that Saul, as he

¹ The meaning then would be, "and the woman saw that he asked for Samuel."

² Dorman, "Origin of Principal Superstitions," p. 153.

³ Rev. Hilderic Friend, in "The Folk-Lore Record" (vol. iv. p. 75), writing of "Euphemism and Tabu in China," remarks: "But on no account will a man tell you the name of his deceased father." Sir John Lubbock, in his "Pre-historic Times" (p. 570), corroborates this statement. "In many parts of the world," he asserts, "the names of the dead are avoided with superstitious horror." (See also Fiske's "Myths and Myth Makers," page 223; Tylor "Early History of Mankind," chap. vi. etc.)

⁴ *Publ. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* (1842), p. 40.

named Samuel, also wrote down the name "Samuel," in accordance with the usual custom. It was this "Samuel" that the woman "saw," and might well see without any interval being needed between Verses 11 and 12. It is simply astonishing how well this explanation fits in with what follows. When the woman saw that Saul by boldly asking for Samuel no longer wished to shroud himself in mystery (for how *could* he, after his promise to protect her?) she, too, threw off her disguise in turn, and confessed her recognition of him. He had practically revealed himself; and she could gain nothing now by pretending not to know him. But Saul mistakes, as she perhaps intended him to mistake, the meaning of her alarmed cry of recognition. He attributes it to the dreadful spectacle she is witnessing. He eagerly attempts to quiet her fears, and asks her to describe what it is that is passing before her eyes. *Saul, then, sees nothing after all!* The woman quickly catches at his mistake. "An old man, covered with a mantle," she says, is coming up; and *this* suffices to make Saul believe that it is Samuel who addresses him. "If you think it is Samuel, so be it!" And the text then naturally puts the speaker's words into the mouth of Samuel.

And what does the pseudo-Samuel tell him! What it surely needed very little sagacity to prophesy. Saul's condition shewed plainly enough what must be the result of the morrow's battle. And the witch may have foreseen how powerfully her own words would tend to bring about their own fulfilment. She knew well enough what Saul's fears were. And when, with pitiless cruelty she declares, "For the Lord hath rent the kingdom out of thy hand and given it to thy neighbour, even to David" (Verse 17), there was little need to add, "To-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me (Samuel)." "Saul fell straightway on the earth!" Even the witch regretted that she had

worked on his fears so strongly. She dreaded his vengeance, perhaps; or pity and remorse were at work. So she kills her fat calf, and makes him unleavened cakes, and sends him away that night. But, now, mark what followed. Saul, as we might have anticipated, and as it needed no ghost to tell him, was defeated; but he was not killed by the enemy. So certain was he that he was to die, so great had been the effect of the witch's words, that, in his self-despair, it was he himself who made them good.

This narrative, then, I venture to submit, is designedly the narrative of a gross but simple deception. Designedly, I say, in order that it might act as a warning to any inclined to follow Saul's own example. And on this hypothesis, I contend that the author could not have chosen his words more happily than he has done, unless, indeed, he had been willing to forego the dramatic force which his story, in its present form, so eminently possesses.

Before leaving the subject I wish to make two remarks. The term *אֵל*, translated in the Authorised Version by "familiar spirit," is usually explained as signifying a species of ventriloquism. *אֵל* undoubtedly does mean a "skin bottle," as in Job xxxii. 19; and not only may the figure easily be applied to the distended body of the ventriloquist, but we are informed by Origen that sorcerers employed bladders and windpipes to produce sound. Further, the LXX. usually renders the word by *ἐγγαστριμυθος*. But this explanation of the term is altogether precarious and hypothetical; for it offers no explanation of the fact that just this particular form of sorcery was singled out for the infliction of the death penalty (Lev. xx. 27). I merely insist on this for a reason I hope to adduce in another paper on a kindred subject.

Finally, I wish to guard the reader, as indeed I have already guarded him incidentally, against a natural and common error. It is ordinarily inferred from the foregoing

passages that sorcery was early in the hands of women, and that therefore it is that the *feminine* is employed in the well-known but wrongly translated sentence which, in the English Version, reads: "Thou shalt not suffer *a witch* to live" (Exod. xxii. 18). The error in this rendering I hope hereafter to shew; but I can at once point out the groundlessness of the assumption that sorcery was chiefly in the hands of women. In the first place, though very many terms occur throughout the Bible in reference to Witchcraft and Divination, the *feminine is never used except in Exodus xxii. 18*. The truth is that the wrong translation in Exodus brought it about in later times that women almost monopolized the profession; and an attempt was made to read into the Bible that which it never contained. The story of the Witch of Endor, so far from supporting this erroneous view, proves exactly the reverse. Saul, it is true, seeks out *a woman*; but only because *he has removed all the men*, all the more celebrated and regular practitioners; and therefore it is that he has recourse to his *servants*, who would probably be acquainted with the humbler members of the class. It is distinctly stated in Verse 3, "And Saul had put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards,¹ out of the land."

I need add no more. I trust that what I have written may help to disprove the inference which is undoubtedly the strongest support of those who seek to make the Bible responsible for the vulgar belief in Witchcraft. I have attempted for one aspect of the subject what I think it possible to do for every other aspect; and what I shall partially at least attempt if the Editor of this Review allows me a further hearing.

ISRAEL ABRAHAMS.

¹ It is only an *inference* that the terms used in Verse 3 refers to the men. quote, however, the English Version; besides, the LXX. renders *γυναικας* which is, of course, a masculine term.

THE SOURCES OF ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.

II. THE OLD TESTAMENT.

It is impossible in the compass of one short paper to do anything like justice to such a subject as St. Paul's use of the Old Testament. It is a subject on which volumes might be written, and all that can be attempted here is to point out a few of the different ways in which the Apostle refers to the ancient Hebrew Scriptures, and to suggest lines of thought which it is believed may be profitably followed up by the student for himself. How impossible it is will be seen the moment it is realized how wide and extensive is the use of the Old Testament in the various Epistles of St. Paul. The table of quotations at the close of the second volume of Drs. Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament gives a total of something like a hundred and eighty references; but, as the same passage often appears more than once, some deduction has to be made. A careful examination of the list, however, shews that no less than a *hundred and forty-one* different chapters of the Old Testament have left distinct traces upon the Apostle's language; and, if we reckon up the single verses to which allusion is made, we shall find that they are considerably over *two hundred*.¹ Nor are these quotations drawn from one part of Scripture only. They are fairly spread over the whole range, each division, (1) the Law, (2) the Prophets (including the historical books), and (3) the "Writings," being represented. Of the five books of the Law each is quoted. Of the books reckoned by the Jews as prophetic allusion is made to 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, the four greater Prophets, and six of the minor ones, viz., Hosea, Joel, Amos, Habakkuk, Zechariah, and Malachi; while three of the

¹ For obvious reasons no account has been taken of the Epistle to the Hebrews in these calculations.

poetical books, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, are represented on the list. And to shew the wide stock of passages for quotation which the Apostle had at his command, and the intimate knowledge he possessed of the text of the Old Testament, it is worth noticing that from the Psalter he quotes no less than thirty-three different Psalms, and of another book—the prophet Isaiah—twenty-nine chapters. It should be noticed, also, that these quotations are not confined to one or two Epistles, or found only in those written to Churches in which a Jewish element was preponderant. They are found in every single Epistle written by the Apostle, except the tiny one to Philemon, which afforded no opportunity for reference to the Old Testament. It is sometimes said, *e.g.* by Canon Farrar, that “there are no Scripture quotations in 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians.”¹ If it is meant by this that there are no *formal* quotations introduced by such a phrase as “what saith the Scripture,” or “as it is written,” then the words are true enough. But if it is meant that in these Epistles St. Paul makes no use whatever of the Old Testament, the words will not pass muster, for by referring again to Drs. Westcott and Hort’s table we find that in Philippians there are six quotations, in Colossians four, in 1 Thessalonians seven, and in 2 Thessalonians as many as nine. Some of these are but slight verbal coincidences, as if words and phrases from those Scriptures which he loved so dearly were floating in the mind of the Apostle, and were almost unconsciously adopted by him. But sometimes, *e.g.* in 2 Thessalonians i. 8–10, the allusion is so clear and decided that there can be no doubt that it was *meant* by St. Paul.

These remarks will serve to indicate the wide extent of material for quotation which the Apostle had ready to hand, and the facility with which he was capable of using

¹ “St. Paul,” vol. i. p. 50; cf. Professor Jowett, “Epistles of St. Paul,” vol. i. p. 6.

it. Illustrations and "Scripture proof" are drawn by him with equal ease from all parts of the Jewish Scriptures, and in Epistles written under widely different circumstances. It matters not to him whether he is elaborating some great doctrinal treatise at his leisure, as in the case of the Epistle to the Romans, or writing hastily during his journey, when he is actually *en route*, as in the case of the Epistle to the Galatians, or whether he is in prison, deprived of his "books and parchments." Wherever he may be, the words of the Old Testament flow naturally from his lips. The original Hebrew and the Greek version of the LXX. are equally familiar to him. He can quote either as best suits his immediate purpose; and he ranges at will over the wide circle of books, calling forth from the storehouse of memory [passage after passage of those sacred writings which he, like Timothy, must have known "from a child," and which he felt were able to make him wise unto salvation (2 Tim. iii. 15).

We have seen the *extent* of St. Paul's use of the Old Testament, and how largely he is indebted to it. The passage last referred to leads us on naturally to consider the *purpose* for which he employs it, and what his view of its value is. "Every Scripture," he proceeds to tell Timothy, "inspired of God, is also profitable for teaching (*πρὸς διδασκαλίαν*), for reproof (*πρὸς ἐλεγμόν*), for correction (*πρὸς ἐπανάρθωσιν*), for instruction which is in righteousness (*πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*)." He thus lays down *four* uses of Scripture, one doctrinal and three practical (so far as it is correct to draw a distinction between the two); and it is remarkable how fully his own writings bear out his conviction of this four-fold value of Scripture. With regard to the *first*, we have a similar statement to that which we have already seen, in Romans xv. 4. "Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning (*εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν*), that

through patience and through comfort of the Scriptures we might have hope." We hear a great deal sometimes about peculiarly "Pauline" doctrines; and there can be no question that St. Paul *does* dwell on certain great truths with greater emphasis than do other writers of the New Testament, and that he sometimes presents them in a different light and under a different aspect from that in which they are held up elsewhere. But it is well to notice that just these so-called Pauline doctrines are all based by him upon the letter of the Old Testament. They were the result of no fresh revelation made to him by the Holy Spirit of new truths of which there had been no hint breathed before. Rather he was enabled, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit enlightening his understanding and quickening his powers, to grasp and comprehend, as none other had yet done, the fulness of meaning that was contained in the letter of those Scriptures of the Old Covenant which were in the hands of all men, but were still as a sealed book to those who lacked the teaching of the Spirit of God. It is, of course, in the Epistle to the Romans that the truths in question are stated most fully and most systematically. Five may be mentioned for the sake of completeness.

1. The universality of sin, among both Jews and Gentiles.
2. Justification by faith only, apart from works of the law.
3. The doctrine of Election.
4. The rejection of Israel and the calling of the Gentiles.
5. The doctrine of the "remnant," and the ultimate conversion of "all Israel."

Each one of these came with the force of a new truth to those who heard the Apostle; and yet he is prepared to shew that each one of them was taught in those very writings which every Jew revered as the oracles of God.

The first of them is proved by the citation of a number of passages which speak in strong terms of the extent of human depravity (see Rom. iii. 10-18, where the quotations are drawn from Pss. xiv. 1; v. 9; cxl. 3; x. 7; xxxvi. 1; and Isa. lix. 7). The second is established from the famous passage in Habakkuk ii. 4, "The righteous shall live by faith," and proved fully from the history of Abraham (see Romans chap. iv.), and confirmed by the language of David in Psalm xxxii. 1. The third is illustrated by such a well-known story as that of Jacob and Esau, and from the Divine statements with regard to Pharaoh (Exod. ix. 16) and supported by Exodus xxxiii. 19 and Malachi i. 2; while the fourth is built upon the language of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 21), Isaiah (Chapter lxv. 1), and Hosea (Chapters i. 10; ii. 23); and the fifth is drawn from the history of Elijah (1 Kings xix.) and the statements of the prophet Isaiah (Chapters i. 9; x. 22; xxvii. 9; lix. 20).

Thus each one of these important doctrines is shewn to be contained in the ancient Scriptures. There they were; they had lain hid for centuries, till they were brought to light by the teaching of the Spirit, and impressed upon the great Apostle of the Gentiles. And in a similar way it is believed that a careful study of St. Paul's Epistles will prove that there is hardly a doctrine to be found in them which is not built upon an Old Testament foundation. It is only a specimen taken from a single Epistle that has been given here; but I would strongly urge any who are interested in the subject to examine the rest of the Epistles in the same way; for I am convinced that they would rise from the study with fresh feeling of admiration for the wonderful powers and knowledge of St. Paul, and an increased conviction of the marvellous harmony of the Old and New Dispensation.

With regard to the *practical* use of Scripture, in its three aspects, a very few words will suffice. A reference

to Romans xiii. 9 will illustrate its use for *instruction* (πρὸς παιδείαν); while in Chapter xii. 19, 20 we have an instance of its value for *correction* (πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν), and in Chapter ii. 24 for *reproof* (πρὸς ἔλεγον). Instances might, of course, be multiplied almost indefinitely, but every one can find them out for himself; and, as space is limited, I will pass on to notice a further use of Scripture made by St. Paul which does not exactly fall under any of the heads already considered. It may be called the *illustrative* use. It is seen in passages containing statements which scarcely require *proof*, but which yet suggest or are suggested by words and expressions from the Old Testament which cling to the Apostle's memory. For example, the argument in Romans xi. is concluded with the exclamation, "O the depth of the riches and the wisdom and the knowledge of God!" (R.V. margin). There is nothing here that requires proof. Nothing, we should say, that needs in any way to be fortified or established. And yet the Apostle cannot pass on without illustrating the truth of his exclamation from the Old Testament, and taking the three ideas of God's *riches*, *wisdom*, and *knowledge* in the reverse order, he establishes the depth of each in turn from Isaiah xl. 13 ff. "Who hath known the mind of the Lord?" shews that God's knowledge is indeed unfathomable: "Who hath been his counsellor?" shews the same with regard to his wisdom: while the depth of his riches is suggested by the question, "Who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed to him again?" It will be seen that this passage is introduced by no formula of quotation. The words are simply adopted by the Apostle as expressing the thought which he has in his mind, and he is not careful to tell us in every case whence his thoughts and words are drawn. But his mind is so thoroughly *saturated* with the teaching of the Old Testament that he can hardly write a single chapter without

directly, or indirectly, borrowing largely from it. Thus it would give a very inadequate idea of the way in which his Epistles are literally *steeped* in Old Testament phraseology were we to be content with merely counting up the acknowledged quotations, viz., those introduced by such a formula as "It is written." It is only a thorough familiarity with the letter of the Old Testament that can enable us to grasp the extent to which it has coloured and moulded St. Paul's thought and diction, and to realize how largely he is indebted to it both for doctrines and for language. But if the student is ever on the watch for references and allusions, and has his Old Testament fully in his mind as he reads St. Paul's Epistles, he is in possession of a master-key which will unlock the meaning of many difficult passages and often stand him in better service than the most elaborate of commentaries. Nor should he be content with merely hunting up the text of the Old Testament in a reference Bible or Concordance. *Let him examine the whole context of the passage quoted*, and he will sometimes find in it a clue to the meaning of St. Paul, and will gather from words and expressions used that a whole passage was in his thoughts, although he may have directly quoted only a very few words from it.

It will be well to conclude this paper with two examples which may serve to illustrate and substantiate these remarks. (1) Romans xii. 19, 20, "Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto wrath ($\tau\eta\ \delta\acute{\omicron}\rho\gamma\eta$); for it is written, Vengeance belongeth unto me; I will recompense, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head."

It is well known that commentators have differed about the meaning of "the wrath" spoken of in Verse 19, and have doubted whether it is the wrath of man or the wrath of God that is referred to. But surely there is little

room for difference of opinion on this point. St. Paul seems expressly to have guarded against it, and to have added the quotation from Deuteronomy xxxii. 35 for the very purpose of shewing that it is God's wrath to which we are to give place.¹ Verse 20 however is more difficult. What is the meaning of the phrase, "thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head"? Here, again, commentators are divided. Chrysostom and other Greek Fathers see in the "coals of fire" a figure of severe Divine punishment, which will be heaped upon the sinner who hardens himself against deeds of love. Augustine, on the other hand, and other Latin Fathers, understand the same expression as "an oriental figure of the burning pains of shame and remorse."² Which interpretation is to be preferred? Something may be urged in favour of each in turn, but the balance of probability seems to be decidedly in favour of the second: and for this reason. The whole verse is really an unacknowledged quotation from Proverbs xxv. 21, 22, and if we turn to that passage we shall find that the whole context and complexion of the words there are opposed to the former interpretation, and directly suggest the second; and we cannot fail to notice that a not dissimilar figure is found in Proverbs only a few verses before the passage which St. Paul has quoted. "*A soft tongue breaketh the bone*" (Verse 15). Thus a reference to the original source of the words used gives us what we may fairly take as a sure clue to the Apostle's meaning, and aids us materially in the interpretation of a difficult passage.

(2) A second illustration may be drawn from St. Paul's latest Epistle. In 2 Timothy iv. 16-18, we read, "At my

¹ It may be added that the use of *δρῶν* with the article elsewhere makes this interpretation of the passage certain. Cf. chapter v. 9; 1 Thessalonians ii. 16; and notice that "both the language and the thought are illustrated by Ephesians iv. 27, which shows that by avenging ourselves we give place to the devil." Dr. Gifford in the "Speaker's Commentary."

² See the "Speaker's Commentary" in *loc.*

first defence no one took my part, but all forsook me : may it not be laid to their account. But the Lord stood by me, and strengthened me ; that through me the message might be fully proclaimed, and that all the Gentiles might hear : and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion. The Lord will deliver me from every evil work, and will save me unto his heavenly kingdom : to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen."

"The lion's mouth" is an expression that has largely exercised the ingenuity of commentators. Some have compared 1 Peter v. 8, and have seen in it a direct reference to the devil. Others, remembering the remarkable expression used by Agrippa's freedman in announcing the death of Tiberius (τέθνηκεν ὁ λέων, Josephus, Antiquities XVIII. vii. 10), have interpreted it of the Roman Emperor Nero ; while others again have supposed that the words are to be taken literally and refer to the shows of the amphitheatre. But there is no need of any of these explanations. A simple one is at hand, and a reference to Psalm xxii. 21 will shew that St. Paul is simply adopting and making his own the proverbial expression for great and imminent danger which is there used by the Psalmist. And, further, we find that we are now in possession of the key to the thoughts and words of the whole passage in this Epistle, and that we are able to trace out the connexion of ideas in a most remarkable manner.¹ The words of Verse 18 are striking, and it has been suggested that they contain an allusion to the close of the Lord's prayer. "The Lord will deliver me from every evil work (ρύσεται με ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ) and will save me unto his heavenly kingdom (τὴν βασιλείαν) : to whom be the glory (ἡ δόξα) for ever and ever. Amen." (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν).

¹ It is only right to make the acknowledgment that some of the following ideas are due to the recollection of a lecture given by Dr. Kay, which I heard many years ago at Oxford.

Compare Matthew vi. 13: "Deliver us from evil (ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ) for thine is the kingdom (ἡ βασιλεία) and the power and the glory (ἡ δόξα) for ever (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν).

The suggestion is a *most* attractive one ; and, for my part, I am free to confess that I should be heartily glad if I could see my way to accept it. But—"magis amica veritas," and the evidence against the genuineness of the doxology of the Lord's prayer is overwhelming. There can be no doubt that it is a later interpolation, and that it was not in existence as part of the Prayer when St. Paul was writing. We are compelled, therefore, however unwillingly, to give up this view of the source of his words. But now let us turn back to Psalm xxii. and see if we cannot there find some hint which will amply compensate for the loss of this reference to the Lord's Prayer. The Psalmist begins (Verse 1) with the cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou *forsaken me* ? " (ἐγκατέλιπες με) ; and further on, as we have already seen, he prays (Verses 21, 22) "*deliver* (ῥύσαι) my soul from the sword. . . . *Save me from the lion's mouth*" (σῶσόν με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος) ; while, a little lower down, there follow the words, "All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord : and *all* the kindreds of *the nations* (τῶν ἐθνῶν) shall worship before thee. For *the kingdom* (ἡ βασιλεία) is the Lord's : and he is the governor among *the nations*" (τῶν ἐθνῶν).

Is it not probable that we have here the source of St. Paul's thoughts ? It is certainly very remarkable that a large number of the same words which we have just noticed in the Psalm reappear in the passage of the Epistle which we are examining. "At my first defence . . . all forsook me (ἐγκατέλιπόν με). . . . But the Lord stood by me and strengthened me ; that through me the message might be fully proclaimed, and *all the Gentiles* (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) might hear : and *I was delivered out of the mouth of the*

lion (ἐρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος). The Lord will *deliver* (ῥύσεται) me from every evil work, and will *save me* (σώσει με) unto his heavenly *kingdom* (τὴν βασιλείαν).” And the last clause, “to whom be the glory for ever and ever,” recalls Verse 26 of the Psalm, “They shall praise the Lord that seek him : your heart shall live for ever” (εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος). Nor is the similarity confined to the actual words that are used. It is seen as strikingly in the thoughts and ideas. The central thought in the latter part of the Psalm is that the writer, though in imminent danger, is certain of being saved from it by the Lord ; and that the result of this Divine interposition will be not only that he will declare God’s name to his brethren, but also that a faithful Church will be established in which even the Gentiles will be included. And in terms which are almost identical with these, St. Paul expresses his conviction that the Lord has delivered him from the imminent dangers which surrounded him, in order that through him “the message might be fully proclaimed, and that all the Gentiles might hear.” The coincidence of both thought and language seems to me to be too close to be accidental ; and it appears probable that the Apostle had but lately been reading and meditating upon this Psalm until his mind was full of it, and words and phrases from it haunted him and clung to his memory, and half unconsciously he reproduced them as he wrote. If this be correct, there is one other fact that we should not overlook ; and it is one that is full of interest and significance for us. This Psalm xxii. is the very psalm from which our Saviour drew that mysterious cry as he hung upon the cross, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?” Thus we seem to see the disciple in the lonely hours of his imprisonment—when all men had forsaken him, and he was almost daily expecting the end—drawing comfort and consolation from the selfsame Scripture which his dying Master had

made his own, and hallowed for him. The last words of our Lord's earthly ministry, and those of St. Paul in the last chapter of his latest Epistle are thus connected together in a remarkable manner. Where the one sought consolation, there the other found it too. And I know not where we could find a grander commentary than this on the Divine law, that "it is sufficient for the disciple that he be as his Master."

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

STUDIES IN THE MINOR PROPHETS.

IV. HOSEA.

THE three great offices of the Jewish polity were those of the king, the priest, and the prophet. The province of the king was to rule, the province of the priest was to sacrifice, the province of the prophet was to teach. Of these, the last was incomparably the greatest. Indeed, it is not too much to say that, in the person of the prophet, the three offices became one. The prophet was at the same time both king and priest. He was the true representative of the Theocracy, and therefore he gave the law to kings; he was the true representative of sacrifice, and therefore he was the priest of humanity. The prophet was essentially a spokesman, a legate, an ambassador, and in that capacity he represented at once humanity and God. At one moment he stood forth as the representative of Deity and delivered his message in the room of God; at another, he appeared as the representative of humanity, and uttered his prayer in the room of man. In the one case he represented royalty, in the other he assumed the attitude of subjection; but, alike in his royalty and his service, his mission was one of priestly sacrifice. As the representative of God

to man, he bore the sorrows of the Divine heart ; as the representative of man to God, he carried the sufferings of the human spirit. The prophet was the true type of that highest revelation of royalty in which the king and the priest are united in the sceptre of love, a love which reigns by serving, and wears its crown by submitting to a cross.

It cannot surprise us, therefore, that an office so highly favoured should have been somewhat jealously guarded. We cannot wonder that to the prophet, as to the priest, there should have come to be attached a certain element of caste. The prophet was himself both a priest and a king, and it was only natural he should claim the apostolic succession of the one and the royal descent of the other. Accordingly, we find, and are not surprised to find, that the general mind of the nation was unfavourable to individualism. It was not easy for one to obtain a hearing who claimed the office of a prophet on no other ground than that of a private and personal inspiration. Men were inclined to ask where were his credentials. They wanted to know whether he had received any right to teach ; and, as a general rule, they held that no such right could be given except by the authority of another prophet. It was seldom of any avail to plead individual illumination ; the Jew was not sufficiently Protestant to recognize such a claim as that. The illumination which he did recognize was an education in the prophetic schools, and the production of evidence testifying to such tuition. Elisha might have all the inspiration of Elijah ; but if he had failed to receive Elijah's mantle, it would stand him in little stead ; the double portion of the spirit would be given in vain, unless it were accompanied by the proof that it *had* been given. The prophet, like the priest, belonged to an order of Aaron, and was prone to base his authority rather on the sanctity of his order than on the power of his own personality.

But now we must observe that, in proportion as the old régime of prophecy faded into the new, there began to appear a change in men's estimate of the prophetic dignity. In proportion as the idea of a prophet ceased to be that of a mere soothsayer, and became that of a teacher of eternal truth, the notion of an apostolic succession began to lose its value. If the gift of prophecy was not simply the gift of fortune-telling, but the power of forth-telling the everlasting principles of the moral universe, it followed, incontrovertibly, that the bestowal of that gift must ultimately depend on the mental condition of the recipient. Accordingly, with the dawn of the eighth pre-Christian century, we begin to see the dawn of what may be called a Jewish Protestantism. The apostolic succession, indeed, still remains in force, but ever and anon we are startled by the apparition of men who have broken away from that succession by flashes of individual inspiration derived, not from tradition, not from inheritance, not from education in the schools of the prophets, but from the direct and immediate illumination of the Spirit of God. We find men who have never belonged to an order of Aaron, but whose pride and boast it is to belong to an order of Melchisedek; to have been without ecclesiastical father, or mother, or descent, but to have derived at once their mission and their light from the inspiring contact of the Life eternal. These men were the Luthers of their age. They spoke with no outward authority; their credentials were all from within. They asserted their claim to be preachers of the everlasting righteousness, and, as such, they asserted their empire alike over nations and kings. But their claim was based upon something which the nations and the kings could not see; it was grounded upon personal conviction alone. They spoke to the world with the accents of imperative command simply because they had heard in their own souls a still small voice of conscience bidding them go forth to

denounce iniquity, and authorizing them! to proclaim the judgments of Heaven.

To this band of Jewish Luthers the subject of our present study appears to have belonged. The call of Hosea was analogous to the call of Amos; it came to each of them in an individual voice. The son of Beerī, like the herdsman of Tekoah, seems to have had no previous connexion with any existing prophetic school, but to have been selected from the multitude by a private and personal call. There is, however, one respect in which the call of Hosea has more interest for us than that of Amos; it came to him in one of those experiences of secular life which we are commonly accustomed to regard as outside the kingdom of God. Hosea has been very frank with his auditors and with his readers. He has made no mystery about his call; he has told us precisely in what circumstances it occurred. He says that he was first awakened to the conviction of having a prophetic mission by the experience of an unhappy married life.¹ He had been disappointed in the object of his affections; she had disgraced his life and ruined his happiness. It might seem at first sight as if there were here no materials for prophetic conviction, but a second glance will shew us the contrary. For the thought in the mind of Hosea is evidently this: "This experience of mine could never have occurred to me unless it had formed part of a wider experience. This want of harmony in that relation of life which ought to be the closest and most indissoluble, is surely a strong proof that there is at work a disintegrating element in society which is dissolving the bond of unity between man and man. It proves that the maiden is not trained to be the wife, that the best and highest part of female education is neglected—her power of helpfulness, her capacity for ministration. It proves, above all, that there is a spirit of levity in the air,

¹ It is thus alone we can interpret Chapters i, and iii,

that the mind of society has become enervated by the pursuit of sensuous pleasure, and that the life of self-indulgence is blinding men to the responsibility of being human souls!" That was what Hosea read in his own unhappy experience. However bitterly he felt it as a personal calamity, he felt it more bitterly still as a sign of national depravity. That it made his own life miserable was much; that it shewed something "rotten in the State of Denmark" was infinitely more. In nothing does the unselfishness of the prophet come out more conspicuously than in this. He is the victim of a personal misfortune, but he refuses to regard it in its personal aspect; he will only see it as it affects his country. He feels himself to be the bearer of a sorrow which could only have come to him from a nation and from an age corrupted at the core; and that which grieves his heart is not so much the personal sorrow as the national corruption. He forgets himself in his people; he loses his individual woe in the vision of an universal degeneracy; he transforms his own burden into a burden not his own.

Here, then, is a remarkable experience in the ecclesiastical history of the Jewish nation; a man called to the sacred office of a prophet through one of the common and secular voices of life, awakened to the sense of a Divine mission by a circumstance so unromantic and so commonplace as an unhappy domestic relationship. In passing through this experience Hosea was himself the prophecy of the universal priesthood of Christianity, a priesthood to which men were to be called not by ecstatic dreams and visions, but by the voices which spoke to them in the exercise of their daily occupations. He was the forerunner of Peter and Andrew, of James and John, of Matthew the publican, and Paul the tentmaker, and Luke the physician, of the multitude which no man can number whose religious life has been constituted and maintained amid the duties

and the avocations of the day and hour. And, in being a prophecy of the Christian spirit, Hosea is at the same time in full harmony with the ideal of Jewish worship, an ideal which had grown dim amid the shadows of the visible priesthood. For it must be remembered that the idea of Hebrew worship all along was the reverence of a Theocracy, in other words, the recognition of a Being who ruled over the heavens and the earth, without the intervention of second or finite causes. The worship of the Hebrew nation was originally built on the belief that there was no difference between things secular and things sacred. The Church was a State, and the State was a Church; the king was a priest, and the priest a king. Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in the very act of being the regal heads of their people, were the men who had the highest right to sacrifice in behalf of their people. The Hebrew polity bequeathed to the Jewish nation an idea which amidst all its vicissitudes it never wholly lost—the conception of a Theocracy in which God ruled alone, and in which He ruled equally over all things. The distinction between sacred and profane had no place in such a government; every event in life was alike, and in the same degree, recognized as an act of God. The experiences of individual life, however secular might be their form, and however mundane might be their natural origin, were received unhesitatingly as Divine voices to the soul, declaring the will of the King of kings. When Hosea heard such a voice in his own secular experience, he was no innovator on the national faith; he was rather the reconstructor and restorer of that faith. He was only reproducing the spirit of the past, rekindling the memory of that olden time when men had been taught to see in all things the Divine Hand, to hear in all sounds the Divine Voice, and to feel in all impressions the stirring of the Divine Breath.

Let us now pass from the call of Hosea, to the burden of his message. There is one thing which must strike us very powerfully at the outset, and it is this: we have here a life which seems at one and the same moment to exhibit two contrary phases of mind. In one aspect Hosea may be regarded as the saddest, in another he may be viewed as the most sanguine, of the Jewish prophets. When we look at his picture of the national life, we behold in him the most gloomy of all pessimists. The vision he gives us of his country is a tableau of horrors. The Jewish nation to his mind presents the aspect of a night without a star. He sees on every side degeneracy, corruption, vice, forgetfulness of God; he sees on no side any natural possibility of remedy. It is a picture of unrelieved immorality. Everything has reached an extreme of blackness, and the prophet is unable even to discern the prospect of that reaction which proverbially follows such extremes. So far, then, Hosea is a pessimist. He can point to nothing in the character or circumstances of the nation which can warrant him to hope; and he will not pretend to see what is not within the range of his vision. Accordingly, his prognostics are gloomy so far as they relate to the natural condition of his country; and were he unable to look beyond the natural condition, he would be without exception the saddest of prophets and the most melancholy of bards. But it is just here that there emerges that second and seemingly contradictory side of Hosea's mind which makes it possible for a critic to place him in the opposite category. For this man, who can see no human ground of hope for the world, has been gifted with a very rare power of hoping without human grounds. All his natural reasonings, all his personal observations, point to despair; but he is sanguine in defiance of these, and in the very act of admitting

the truth of these. Such sanguineness, it must be conceded, is of a very peculiar order.

There have been men who, when tossed upon a sea of trouble, have been able to buoy themselves up by the hope in a single natural contingency; we call these sanguine men. But here is a man who, in looking across his sea of trouble, can discern no place for the intervention of such a contingency. He beholds storm and cloud everywhere, and he can imagine no natural law by which the storm and the cloud can possibly be dispelled. Yet this man, with every reason for despair and with full consciousness that he has reason for despair, has no doubt whatever that the sea of troubles will be ultimately calm; he is an optimist against reason. He is the most absolutely sanguine of all the Jewish prophets, because he is sanguine in deliberate defiance of his own judgment. He has weighed his country in the balance and found her wanting; he believes his country to be incapable at any time of reversing that balance; and yet he is convinced of her final triumph. How are we to account for this seeming inconsistency of human nature? How are we to explain the contradiction between the man's premisses and his conclusion? How are we to reconcile the conflict between the sadness of his natural perceptions and the exuberant hope with which he looks beyond them?

The reconciliation lies in one fact—the prophet's belief in the supernatural. Of all the singers of Israel Hosea is the man who soars furthest beyond the sphere of human conditions. He is, in a quite peculiar sense, the prophet of grace and salvation. Others have predicted for Judæa a return of the Divine favour; but they have seen the promise of that return in the hope of a national repentance. Hosea sees no hope of a national repentance except in the promise of a Divine return; his only hope

is in God. He feels that the Jewish nation is so impotent as to preclude all natural expectation of succour, and therefore his expectation rests on the supernatural. God must Himself come as the Refuge and the Strength of humanity. Before any order can be restored, before the downward course of the nation can be arrested, there must be felt the intervention of a Power distinctly different from all the resources of man. The Divine Life must itself descend into the heart of the human; and the human life must be purified by its contact with the Divine. Hosea is essentially the prophet of a Divine salvation, for he looks for the emancipation of humanity to the advent of a strength which humanity can never yield.

And what is Hosea's ground for this hope? To the natural mind of man, in any age, it must seem an irrational expectation; to the natural mind of the Jew it must have appeared specially so. If there was one thing which the Jew emphasized more than another it was the distance, the self-containedness, the incommunicableness of God. The Divine Life was to him eternally separate from the human; there was a great gulf fixed between them, so that the one could not directly pass over to the other. They could only commune with each other through the intervention of emissaries—by a Jacob's ladder, or a Divine fire kindled on Sinai, or a descending hierarchy of angels. That God and man should meet face to face, that the creature should see God and live, that the human soul should be permitted to hold immediate converse with the Divine Author of its being, was a thought originally foreign to the Hebrew mind. Yet it is precisely this foreign element which breaks forth in the writings of Hosea. In him the spirit of Judaism seems to desert its own standpoint. The supernatural is seen bridging that gulf which itself had created; and the God, who had hitherto been inaccessible

to the human soul except through the medium of angels, is beheld Himself spanning the distance and touching the creature with his own hand.

We ask again, wherefore is this? What is that thought in the mind of Hosea which makes it possible for him, without irreverence, to say what, to his forefathers, would have seemed blasphemy. The answer is not far to seek. Hosea is distinctively the prophet of the supernatural, because Hosea for the first time has fully awakened to the anticipation of that great Christian idea—the Fatherhood of God. Here, more distinctively than either in Jonah or Joel or Amos, we are confronted by a manifestation of the Divine Life in which the lineaments of the Ruler and of the Lawgiver are softened into the features of the Heavenly Father. The opening of the eleventh chapter of this prophecy is a matchless picture of the infinite tenderness which sleeps in the heart of God; it is in a higher sense a prophecy of Christianity than if it had foretold one by one all the events of the Gospel history. In no previous writer do we see God brought so near to man; in no previous prophet is the idea of the Divine mercy so abundantly realized. In Jonah we meet with a God whose sympathy is aroused by the sufferings of a vast population; but, even in this beautiful picture, the vastness of the population detracts from the full vision of the Infinite Tenderness. Tenderness, to be infinite, must be concentrated on the individual. In the picture of the Divine Master bending his gaze upon a little child we have a more vivid image of condescension than in that universal benevolence which makes its sun to rise on the evil and on the good. And the former is the more vivid because it is the more individual. The Divine Master, setting the child in the centre of the disciples, exhibits the revelation of an infinite light concentrating itself upon a single point of space. It is not simply the rise of an

indiscriminately diffuse sunshine; it is the rise of the full sunshine upon one corner of a valley. The intense concreteness of the image, the extreme individualism of the picture, conveys a more vivid sense of the Fatherhood of God than the exhibition of Divine Benevolence in the sphere of universal law. Now, it is this thought which Hosea has grasped in the eleventh chapter of his prophecy. In the Book of Jonah the Divine Sympathy is awakened by the collective sorrows of a vast multitude; here the Divine Tenderness is aroused by a human sorrow which comes to the Father's ear in the cry of a child. The heavenly Father is represented as beholding humanity as if it existed in the form of a single individual life. The Israelitish nation is said to be imaged in the heart of God, not as a vast population, but as one human soul. The history of that nation is said to be the history of a child's education by his father. The child's first natural lesson is in the art of locomotion. In the mind's eye of the prophet there is the image of a father teaching his son to walk. The father places himself at an apparent distance from the child in order to constitute a point of approach; he seems to stand apart from him, and tells him to try whether he can come to him. Yet all the time the distance is only apparent. The father has never for a moment relinquished his grasp; his arm is stretched through the intervening space to support the steps of the child, to further his effort or to cover his failure. Even such is the picture which Hosea sees in the early history of the Hebrew nation. Ephraim was then a child, and God dealt with him as a child. He taught him to walk (Hosea xi. 3); He directed every step of his way; He dictated the course of his journey. But He did more than that; He was Himself the supernatural force that gave him strength to attempt the journey. The heavenly Father, like the earthly, had seemed to stand at a distance

from the child ; but it had been only the semblance of distance. The supernatural had been really the moving power which had developed the child's nature ; the heavenly Father had been holding him by the arms all the way, so that it had been impossible for him to fall, or impossible that a fall should hurt him. There is something very touching in the words, " They knew not that I healed them ; " they strike at the prevalent Jewish error regarding the distance of the supernatural. It is as if the prophet had said : " Ephraim has mistaken the cause of his own progress. He imagines that he has been led by the mediation of celestial intelligences, by angel and archangel, by powers that have bridged the distance between the human and the Divine. All the time he has been oblivious to the fact that there is no distance to bridge, that the Divine has never for a moment been absent from the human, that the guidance of celestial spirits was but the disguised hand of God. Ephraim has been seeking to span an imaginary gulf between him and his Creator ; but it is the Creator Himself who has formed within him the imagination of that gulf of distance. The Father has seemed to stand apart from the child, that the child in his efforts to reach Him may gain the power of motion ; but, in reality, He has never for a moment relaxed his grasp of tenderness, nor ceased to hold the arms of that life which is struggling into self-support ! "

Here, then, in this very early document, we have something like the germ of a philosophy of Jewish history ; something from which it is not impossible that such modern minds as those of a Lessing and a Herder may have derived hints and suggestions. The idea of Lessing, indeed, seems to be specially anticipated. This world is recognized as a scene not so much of probation as of education. Man is brought into the Universe for the purpose of being taught,

and his teaching is conducted on the principle of development. In the days of his childhood God deals with him as a child; the supernatural is in constant contact with his natural weakness. The individual life is described as a process of healing; and its earliest stage is said to be a process of unconscious healing. The child who comes into the world, bearing within him the desires and appetences of a nature lower than his own, is led by the hand of Infinite Love into such paths and circumstances as may tend to eradicate those desires; but all the time he is unconscious of the Hand that leads him, and ignorant of that goal towards which his steps are being directed.

What, then, is this goal of the human life? The prophet Hosea, as representative of developed manhood, professes to see that of which the child is ignorant—the object of human existence itself. He professes to have reached the solution of the great problem, What is the chief end of man? Every parent has a reason for the education of his child; most parents educate their children for a definite calling. Hosea sees clearly that, if God be the Educator of the world, there must be some plan according to which He trains the world, and some end which He designs that training to subserve. What, then, according to the prophet, is God's goal for humanity? what is that ideal which He desires humanity to attain? We shall find the answer if we turn to the sixth chapter of this prophecy, which is the true and logical sequel of the eleventh. Here the child ceases to be unconscious of the Divine plan, and awakes to the knowledge that he has been all along the subject of a process of healing. In Hosea vi. 6, God reveals his purpose for humanity in these remarkable words: "I desired goodness, and not sacrifice." If we might paraphrase the utterance of this Divine Voice, its meaning would be this: "Why is it that you lay such stress upon the remission of your penalties? Why is it that your whole idea of religion is

summed up in the sacrifice that may avert physical pain? Will you not learn that the deepest of all penalties is that life of sin in which you are content to live and move and have your being; that the only sacrifice which can permanently ease your soul is the offering of a broken and a contrite spirit? You are seeking redemption from every outward evil, from battle and lightning and tempest and sudden death; but you have never yet realized that the only evil which a human soul cannot bear is moral depravity. You are dying of your sins every day; inward corruption is eating into your heart, and you are dignifying it by the name of life. You need another kind of sacrifice than that of the visible altar—the sacrifice of your own selfish will, the surrender of your own pride, the giving-up of your own lust: *that* is the sacrifice which will bring, not merely freedom from penalty but, freedom from the great disease from which all penalty has sprung!”

And can we fail to mark in this message of Hosea a striking forecast of the higher Christian spirit? God's desire of goodness is the desire for a new species for sacrifice; the yearning, not for an involuntary victim but, for a self-surrendered soul. Judaism, in that aspiration, is seen already pressing forward to the age of golden glory whose motto and watchword was to be, “Thy will be done.” It is hurrying onward to the time when the child's unconsciousness of the Divine Power that healed it was to be transformed into the man's recognition that this Power was his Life and Light. The new spirit of prophecy, almost in the hour of its birth, was already enfolding the germ of that Gospel dispensation where Duty was to melt in Love, and the sense of obligation to law was to fade away in the aspiration: “I delight to do Thy will.”

GEORGE MATHESON.

THE DAILY WASHING OF THE ONCE BATHED.

ST. JOHN xiii. 10.

IN three several ways we may make the meaning of this sentence more clear and more impressive: (1) by amending the translation; (2) by reading it in the light of Oriental custom; and (3) by recalling the circumstances under which it was uttered.

(1) Let us amend the translation. In our Authorised Version two Greek verbs, which have a marked difference of meaning, are translated by one and the same English word. The first means *to bathe*, to get into water; the second means *to wash*, to apply water to the uncovered parts of the body, as the hands, the head, the feet. To make the sentence exact and clear, therefore, it ought to be rendered, as in the Revised Version it is rendered, "He that is *bathed* needeth not save to wash his feet."

(2) But how should a man who has just bathed, just washed all over, need even to wash so much as his feet? A familiar Oriental custom furnishes a reply. In the East bathing is, and was, a protracted and luxurious operation. The bather was led from room to room, much as we are now in a Turkish bath, walking on his bare feet, or in sandals which many had used before him; and, naturally, one of the last processes was a scrupulous ablution of the feet. In the East, too, it was the custom for guests to take a bath before they went to a banquet. But, as on their arrival at the house of their host, their feet, protected only by sandals, might have contracted some defilement from the streets through which they had passed, they found servants provided with towels and vessels of water awaiting them, who washed the dust from their feet, in order both that they might be saved from discomfort and that the cushions on which they reclined might not be soiled. It was to one of

these customs, probably the latter, that our Lord referred when He said, "He that is bathed need only wash his feet."

(3) Thus far our way has been easy and clear. It does not take long to amend the translation of the sentence, or to illustrate it from Oriental manners. But now, if we are to enter into the real meaning of the sentence, we must give a more leisurely consideration to the circumstances in which it was uttered. These circumstances, while they are of a very special and impressive interest in themselves, are also, when duly arranged, a striking and instructive commentary on the words before us. But here, at the outset, it becomes necessary to make one or two other corrections in our Authorised Version. In Verse 2 we read that, "supper being ended," Jesus arose and washed his disciples' feet. Indeed it is impossible to read the first four verses of the Chapter without deriving from them the impression that it was at the *close* of the Feast—when such an action would have been quite out of place and keeping—that our Lord "took the form of a servant," and in his humility taught us that Love is degraded by no service it can render, however menial it may be. As, however, in the subsequent verses of the Chapter, we find the Feast still going on, we might well suspect to find some mistake in the translation of these verses. There is such a mistake. The words in Verse 2, "and supper being *ended*," ought to be rendered, as in our Revised Version, "*during* supper," or, better still, "when supper was *served*," or "when supper was *about to begin*." And, in Verse 4, where we read, "He riseth from *supper*," we ought to read, "He riseth from *the* supper" as yet untasted, and to understand, not that He got up from eating his supper, and, still less, that He got up at the close of the supper, but that He rose from the table at which the supper was set out almost as soon as He had sat down to it, and before as yet the meal had begun.

Now if we quietly note these corrections, and if we also

bear in mind St. Luke's report of the dispute that broke out at the supper among the disciples, the dispute as to which of them was, or should be, the greatest, we shall find no difficulty in so arranging the details of the scene as to arrive at their true significance.

The supper took place at evening, of course, and in the upper room, duly furnished for the Passover,¹ which Jesus had sent forward two of his disciples to secure. With the other ten, He had walked in from Bethany to Jerusalem, in the afternoon of the day. After their hot and dusty walk, their first care would be to take off their sandals and wash their soiled and heated feet. This office was usually performed by the servants of the house, though sometimes a host, in receiving guests of distinction, would himself do them the honour of taking the servant's place. But during the feast of the Passover, when Jerusalem was crowded with visitors from every land, many of whom had to sleep in the streets or in tents pitched outside the walls, it was impossible to maintain any very nice observance of the rites of hospitality. Those who were so fortunate as to obtain apartments were expected to wait on themselves. The host had his private friends to see to. The very servants would be too busy to wait on strangers and sojourners. The laver, or "bason," would be there,—the large copper ewer, commonly found in Oriental houses, and "the watering-pots," the large earthenware jars from which it might be replenished, and the towels with which the feet were to be dried. But all else would be left to the visitor, or to the servants he brought with him.

When the disciples of Jesus arrived at the house of "the good man" who had placed an apartment at the disposal of Jesus and his friends, they doubtless found "the large upper room furnished" with all that they required. And

¹ This, at least, seems to me the more probable hypothesis, although great authorities put the feast *before* the Passover.

probably, though we have no record of the fact, one of them at once removed the Master's sandals, and washed the dust from his feet with the cool fresh water that stood ready to hand. But no one of them, it would seem, would stoop to perform that kindly office for the rest. The old emulation, the old strife, as to which of them should take the highest place, broke out among them again; and there they stood, with dusty feet and with hot jealous hearts, wrangling as to whose duty it was to play servant to his brethren. The feeling, "I am as good as you and a little better," seems for a moment to have ruled them all. No one of them had yet learned the lesson which Jesus had so often taught, that he is the greatest who does most for others, and he the true chief who serves most, most efficiently and most disinterestedly. It was to impress this neglected lesson on them that Jesus, who had already taken his place at the table, rose from the untasted supper, laid aside his flowing outer robe, girt a towel round his tunic—thus appearing among them "as one that served"—poured water into the bason, and "began to wash his disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded." But for his grace, *they* might have sat down unwashed and angry, and *we* might never have learned the dignity of service, the glory of humility. *They* surely must have felt humbled and ashamed as they saw Him whom they called Master and Lord assuming the menial part and discharging the servile office which they had refused. And *we*, who also call Him Master and Lord, may well learn, from this act of humility, that "the servant is not greater than his lord, neither he that is sent greater than he that sent him"; that it is not in standing up for our own rights and insisting on our own claims and exalting ourselves above our neighbours, but in stooping cheerfully to the lowliest duties and the most generous service that we rise to the highest honours, and "do as He did," whose Name is above every name.

When, in the discharge of the lowly office He had assumed, Jesus came to Peter, Peter's conscience pricked him, and he displayed his characteristic impetuosity and self-will even while also displaying his characteristic loyalty and love. This Apostle who, as the greatest of all, might well have stooped to be the servant of all, but who had hotly refused to take the part his Master had now assumed, exclaimed with reverent astonishment, "Lord, dost *Thou* wash my feet!" "Yes;" Jesus virtually replies, "suffer it to be so now, and by and bye you will understand that I am your Lord precisely *because* I am your Servant; and that in washing your feet I have set you an example of humility, that you may do to others even as I have done to you." "Nay," retorts Peter, "Thou shalt never wash my feet," meaning, "I will never suffer Thee so to degrade Thyself." Often as he had been taught to see a meaning in Christ's actions that went beyond the action of the moment, and though Christ had just warned him that there was in this action much more than met the eye, the impetuous Apostle cannot wait for light, but speaks from the darkness of his self-will,—an instance of blundering haste which might well remind us of the virtue which resides in being "slow to speak." Drawing back his feet from the bason, he emphatically declines to let his Master become his Servant. "He wist not what he did," even as he understood not what Jesus had said. And, therefore, Christ speaks to him very solemnly, and in words of direct spiritual import: "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me," no *portion* with me, as the word implies; "if you will not suffer me, as your Host, to wash your feet, you are no guest of mine; no portion, no *mess*, no dish, is set on my table for you; you stand outside my circle, outside my fellowship." The mystical, or spiritual, significance which Christ had declared his action to possess is partly disclosed in these words. For they cannot be taken liter-

ally. It was not necessary that Peter's feet should be washed by his Master and Lord in order that Peter should have either his portion on the table or his part in the kingdom and grace of Christ. But it *was* necessary that he should submit his will to the will of Christ, and learn to take a law from his lips. It was necessary that the whole round of his activities, symbolised by the feet, should be cleansed and purified. If we believe in Christ, we must walk even as also He walked: and where shall we get strength to walk aright save from Him, and as we follow Him, who never at any time transgressed his Father's commandment?

This was the spiritual meaning of Christ's rebuke to Peter. It was not enough that he should once have witnessed a good confession, or that he should still acknowledge Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of the living God. Day by day, as often as he contracted new defilement, as often as the dust of the world or of the worldly self-willed spirit, gathered upon him, he needed to be cleansed from it, to have his stains and sins washed away, washed out of him. Peter did not fully take the meaning of our Lord's words, or he would not have uttered his second rash and hasty speech. But he was so profoundly impressed by the solemnity of his Master's tone and manner, so appalled at the mere thought of having no portion with Him, no mess at his table, no lot in his kingdom, that he cried out vehemently, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head! Wash all of me that is uncovered, all that is open to the soils and infections of the world!" He had missed the more delicate distinctions of his Master's thought; but his heart was in the right place: he would do and suffer anything rather than permit the links which bound him to Christ to be severed. And, therefore, Jesus expresses his thought still more clearly in the words: "*He that is bathed*"—he that has once been plunged in the

laver of regeneration, he that has become a new creature—*needeth not save to wash his feet*: but *this* is a daily necessity with him. His feet, soiled by contact with the world's dusty paths, must be cleansed, if he is to be clean every whit. When men first truly believe in Christ, when they sincerely accept the revelation of God's redeeming love made in and through Him, they are bathed, they are regenerated, they are created anew, they become new men in Him; their whole moral nature is cleansed and invigorated. But as they go on their way, they contract fresh pollution, their old nature breaks up through the new, as here St. Peter's old impetuosity and self-will break up through his new love and reverence for Christ: or they are brought into temptation by being brought into contact with the world's maxims and laws, or even by being brought into collision with the evil and angry tempers which are not altogether unknown even in the Church, as St. Peter had been excited by the strife with his brethren: and hence, though bathed, they need to repair again and again to the Fountain in which they were first cleansed, the inexhaustible fountain of the Divine mercy and grace.

I. This, then, is the first lesson suggested by the words, "He that is bathed need only wash his feet." We sin *after* we have believed. We take fresh soils and stains *after* we have been renewed in the spirit of our minds. *We need a daily cleansing, therefore, though not a daily regeneration.* Once born again, born from above, we enter on a life that cannot die; we lay hold, once for all, on eternal life. But this life may be checked, lowered, thwarted by the evil and selfish passions in which our old life still asserts its existence and power; by the cares and pleasures of the world in which we still have to live; by the frets and anxieties that spring from the toils by which we gain our daily bread; by an undue addiction to our personal interests or to the things of this present world; by the evil tempers stirred

in us by the contradiction of sinners, or even by the contradiction of saints. Daily, therefore, we need to be washed from these ugly and defiling stains. It is not enough that we were *once* quickened and enlightened, that once we tasted of the heavenly gift and felt the powers of the world to come. Day by day we need to be again renewed unto repentance, to be purged from our selfishness, our sullenness, our vehemence, our unfriendliness, our pride, envy, self-will, our infidelity to our own highest aims and best resolves. That in us which lies nearest to the world, which comes into closest contact with it, that in us which is lowest and most exposed to moral contamination and most susceptible of it, needs to be steeped as in pure water, to be released and purified.

Who that knows himself at all can doubt that, in his single being, two men, two lives are contending together for the mastery; the one lifting him toward heaven, the other holding him down to earth; the one prompting him to walk by faith in the things which do not appear, the other persuading him to walk after the sight of his own eyes and the desires of his own heart. It is in this inward strife that we so often fail, and are so often overtaken of transgression, just as it was in their strife with each other that the Apostles became unclean; and are constrained to own that if, after the conflict and turmoil of the day, we are to settle down into that fellowship with Christ in which our spirits are renewed, we must first be washed from the dust and heat of the strife. Nay, it is the sense of this painful endless conflict, the dread that evil is not being overcome of good in us, and the fear lest no to-morrow should find us further or more victorious than to-day, which at times takes all heart out of us and leads us to despair of ourselves. To *bathe* once for all is not so hard; but this daily *washing* tries our patience and endurance. To believe once for all in the Divine goodwill, and so to lay hold

on eternal life, so far from being hard to us, may be the keenest joy we have known; but to confess day after day that we have sinned against that good Will, to fear lest we should not be able even to hold our own against evil, much less conquer it; to feel that if we daily overcome it at some points, at other points we are daily overcome by it, and *still to maintain the conflict*, this is the labour that taxes our strength, this the task which tries, and sometimes exhausts, our patience. "Will it be always thus with us?" we cry; "we so weak, so easily betrayed, and evil at once so strong and so insidious; we so infirm of purpose and the world around us so full of seductions and constraints which draw us from our purpose; time and opportunity slipping by so fast, and we making so little progress, even if we make any! Is there no hope for us, no comfort—no comfort in the present, no hope for the future?"

II. Yes, there is comfort, there is hope. For the second thought here suggested is, that *He who declares our need of daily cleansing, also declares—nay, both declares and proves—his willingness to cleanse us*. When once we think of it there is something infinitely pathetic and consolatory in the fact, that it was as Christ stood girt about with the towel, and the laver within his reach, He said to Peter, "If I wash thee not, thou hast no portion with me;" for how could He more impressively or more expressively signify his willingness to wash his disciples' soiled and heated feet? And as then, so now, He is among us as One that serveth,—as the Servant whose duty and function it is to cleanse us from the pollutions of the way. If we confess our sins, He is faithful—faithful to Himself as the Lord and therefore the Minister of all—to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

It was in no happy or receptive mood that the Twelve entered the room in which they were to eat their last

supper with Him. Their hearts were haughty, their eyes lofty, they were too engrossed in their strife for precedence to remember the lessons He had taught them. The dust of the world lay on their spirits more thickly than the dust of the road on their feet. And He who washed their feet also calmed and purged and softened their spirits, quickening humility by shewing humility, and love by shewing love; while, by serving them, He taught them to serve one another. Why, then, should *we* despair of his grace, or doubt whether it will be sufficient for us? He who forgave them, cleansed them, raised them to a better mind, will He not also forgive, and cleanse, and raise us? Yes, to us, as to them, so often as He comes to rebuke sin, He comes with cleansing and forgiveness in his hands, shewing us his love that we may feel and confess our want of love, shewing his humility that we may renounce our hardness and our pride. He is the Lord of all because He is the Minister of all; our Lord because our Minister: and shall not our Minister serve us, give us of his best, and adapt his service to our need? Is it not reasonable to conclude that He who laid down his life to take away our sins *will* take away our sins now that He is risen from the dead? If then He has come, and come to us, we should daily draw near to Him who has thrown open "the laver of regeneration" to us, and beseech Him to cleanse the whole round of our affections, our activities, our aims, that in and through Him we may become every whit clean.

III. "Draw near to Him?" it may be asked; "but *how* may we draw near to Him? What tempers and emotions must we cherish in ourselves in order to be assured of the Divine Forgiveness we daily need?"

The answer is plain: it lies on the very face of the narrative before us. *It is by humility and charity that we draw near to Christ.* It is as we cherish a lowly and kindly temper that we win the assurance of pardon and

grace to match our need—as He Himself teaches us. For when He had washed their feet and had taken his garments, and was set down again, He said to his disciples: “Perceive ye what I have done unto you? Do ye yet understand the real meaning of this act of mine? Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well; for so I am. But if I, your Lord and Master, washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another’s feet; for what I have just been doing is this—I have given you an example, *that ye also should do as I have done to you.*” He had rendered them a service which they held to be too mean and base for them to render to each other. He had taught them, and through them He has taught us, that it is by loving and serving one another that we copy his example, draw near to Him, and grow like to Him. When, therefore, we are conscious of sin and defect, and long for the forgiveness which alone can cleanse us from our sins, what we ought to set ourselves to do is to cherish a humble and charitable temper toward all men; to think gently of them and lowly of ourselves. For if we forgive them their trespasses against us, God will forgive us our trespasses against Him. And, surely, when we are burdened with a sense of our own guilt and weakness, it should not be hard for us either to humble ourselves before God, or to make allowance for that very weakness in a neighbour which we ourselves have shewn. But, hard or easy, this is the rule of the Divine kingdom: the peace of forgiveness is vouchsafed only to the humble and kindly heart. He who thinks with humility of himself and with charity of his neighbour has the proof in himself both that he has bathed in the laver of regeneration, has been renewed in the spirit of his mind, and that he will be cleansed from the sins of daily conduct which he confesses and laments.

ALMONI PELONI.

BRIEF NOTICES.

No book published for many a month will be more welcome to Biblical students than *THE PARALLEL NEW TESTAMENT*, issued a month or two since by *The Oxford University Press*, in which the Authorised Version and the Revised Version are printed side by side, and can therefore be instantly compared. We have longed and called for it ever since the New Testament Company brought their somewhat questionable offspring to the birth; and we receive it with the gratitude of men who foresee that much otherwise inevitable labour is to be spared them. For now a mere glance at the two columns as they lie side by side on the same page will replace the necessity of comparing two distinct volumes printed on different scales, and thus an immense saving both of time, and of toil of a peculiarly tedious and fretting kind, will be secured. With a little practice it will even be possible to read the New Testament aloud from this volume, quietly correcting the innumerable unnecessary alterations of the Revised Version from the other column, while retaining all that are really necessary and valuable. In the copy before us, moreover, the book is as nearly perfect—in type, paper, and binding—as a book can well be; pleasant to the eye, and pleasant to the touch. In short, it will be of the utmost value to every student of the New Testament into whose hands it falls; while it reflects no little credit on the Press from which it issues.

LOGIC AND LIFE, with other Sermons, by *Rev. H. S. Holland*, M.A. (London: Rivingtons), are sermons not to be *read* simply, but *perused*. True to their title, there is both logic and life in them—a very close and cogent logic, a very vivid and throbbing life. They are manifestly the productions of a mind at once subtle and strong, familiar too with the difficulties which modern science and culture have suggested, and able to grapple with them. In such discourses as those on “The Venture of Reason,” “The Cost of Moral Movement,” and “Christ the Justification of a Suffering World”—to single out only a few of those which have most impressed us—trains of thought are started which cannot fail to be most helpful to any sceptic who will be at the pains of following

them out. And the style, save for its over elaborateness and an occasional tone of over excitement, is worthy of the thoughts it expresses, often indeed rising into a natural and noble eloquence; not the eloquence of mere words, but of thoughts which by their own swift motion and steadfast pressure have taken fire. In short, it is long since we have met with sermons so powerful, or so well adapted to the wants and cravings of the time. There are at least five or six of them the arguments of which we would gladly place before our readers did space permit. There is not one of them from which cultivated men may not cull some striking suggestion, or by which devout men may not find their spirits comforted and refreshed. To preachers of the higher stamp, who are so happy as to address educated and thoughtful congregations, they will be of immense value, stimulating and enriching their minds, and indicating some new lines along which the great problems of the age may be approached with advantage.

It is not often that a Prize Essay is of permanent worth, or that it even shews signs of much promise. But in *THE SYNOD OF ELVIRA*, By *A. W. W. Dale, M.A.* (London: Macmillan) we have an Essay which carried off the Hulsean premium of 1881, and is nevertheless both of good promise and of good performance. Mr. Dale's style whether of thought or of expression is singularly mature for that of so young an author. And though his theme is not inviting—for the Synod of Elvira was only an obscure Spanish Council of the fourth century, the very name of which will be unknown to many of our readers—he has so handled it as to make it quick with interest and instruction.

He starts by discussing the place, date, and constitution of the Synod, collecting his facts and arguments from a wide range of reading, and reaching his conclusions with a remarkable moderation and impartiality. Then, taking up the decrees of the Synod, he infers from them the social, ecclesiastical, and political conditions which they were evidently designed to meet, and gives us a vivid and impressive sketch of the state both of the Church of the time and of the Empire, in which he makes it clear how far the Church had already fallen from its original simplicity, how rapidly the Roman Empire was tending to decay. Most of our ecclesiastical historians, however learned and able, are but dull reading at the best; but Mr. Dale has a gift of lively narrative, a

power of seizing on the essential, picturesque, and really illustrative points of his subject, which has enabled him to invest an obscure and unattractive event in Church History with life and interest. If his harvest should answer to his "first-fruits," as we trust it will, we may look to receive many pleasant and instructive books from his hands.

Mr. T. Fisher Unwin (London) could hardly have opened his career as a publisher more auspiciously than by issuing the facsimile reprint of *THE TEMPLE*, by *George Herbert*, in which he has given us an exact typographical reproduction of the copy in the British Museum (First Edition, A.D. 1633). Not that we ourselves care much for these curious and costly reprints of ugly old books. For our own use we should prefer a handsome modern edition of almost any one of them even to the original, and much more to a mere copy of the original. Still there are many who do value them. And the publisher who could produce this wonderfully exact reprint gives no doubtful proof that he can produce almost any work within the compass of his art. He has shewn good judgment, too, in selecting Mr. Shorthouse to write the introductory Essay. It would hardly be possible to find in this generation a man so entirely in sympathy with the Poet of the Church as the author of *John Inglesant*. And his essay is quite worthy of his reputation. Written in choice and dainty English, it adequately characterises both the Poet and his work. Nonconformists may be irritated or amused, according to their complexion, by his too "churchy" tone, his bland assumption that "the Church of England"—which, after all, is only *one* of the Churches of Christ in England—is the bright consummate flower of the universe, his too evident belief that the production of "*fine gentlemen*" is the supreme end for which both the universe and the Church exist; especially as it would seem quite consistent with the character of a fine gentleman to trust in himself that he is righteous and to despise others. But they have no right at least to be irritated by it. What else could they expect from the author of *John Inglesant*? In what other tone could the poems of George Herbert be so fitly introduced?

THE PULPIT COMMENTARY. EXODUS. *Exposition and Homiletics*, by the Rev. George Rawlinson, M.A., with homilies by Rev. J. Orr, M.A., Rev. C. A. Goodhart, M.A., Rev. Dr. Young, B.A., Rev. J.

Urquhart, and the Rev. H. T. Robjohns, B.A. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.). This book weighs five pounds. It measures ten inches by six and a half, and is three inches through. And its back is sure to break before it has been a month in use.

One is driven back on this primitive and barbarous method of reviewing the volume by its very bulk. We do not pretend to have read it. We doubt whether any even of the patient and much enduring tribe of reviewers ever will read it straight through. The mortal span—since the Flood at least; Methusaleh might have amused his leisure hours with it, and Noah might have found it even a relief to the tedium of the Ark—is not long enough, human patience is not sufficient for the task.

And now that the Editors have succeeded in producing a volume to which no man who has any serious occupation of his own can possibly do justice, we trust that they will reconsider their plan, and reduce it to a scale which will bring it within the reach of those the days of whose years are but three-score years and ten.

We have only to add that Canon Rawlinson's name is a guarantee of good work; and that, so far as we can judge from occasional dips into this unwieldy book, his work here is, in both branches of it, up to the mark of his reputation.

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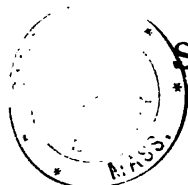
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THE EXPOSITOR.

EDITED BY THE REV.

SAMUEL COX, D.D.



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PROFESSOR ZAHN ON TATIAN'S DIATESSARON.

At the very time last year when we were discussing the practical recovery of Tatian's Diatessaron in the commentary upon it written by Ephraem the Syrian, an elaborate investigation of the subject by one of the ablest and soundest of German scholars, Professor Zahn of Erlangen, was on the point of publication. The work appeared in the latter part of last year, and has had the effect of bringing into due prominence in Germany the very important results which, notwithstanding many difficulties that still remain, are unquestionably established by the recent discovery. It is an admirable example of German learning and scientific thoroughness, and, considering Dr. Zahn's other occupations, the labour he must have bestowed on its production is amazing. Out of 386 large octavo pages more than a hundred are devoted to a reconstruction in detail of the text of the Diatessaron by means of Ephraem's quotations, with the assistance of some secondary sources, and this reconstruction is vindicated, verse by verse, in an elaborate commentary which discusses the minutest details of the text. An index, at the close of the volume, to the passages of the four Gospels thus shewn to have been incorporated in the Harmony enables the reader readily to examine the evidence which the Diatessaron may afford respecting any particular verse. As a storehouse of materials, this part of the work must remain of very great value for future investigations, independently of the other points of interest which it offers. The text of Ephraem's Diatessaron is compared

throughout with the text of the Peshito, with the Syriac version published by Cureton, with quotations in Ephraem's other works, as well as with other authorities; and some of Zahn's chief conclusions rest upon a detailed comparison of Ephraem's text with these various sources. It may perhaps be doubted whether even this immense labour has sufficed to afford a sufficiently solid basis for all the conclusions in question, but it is none the less admirable and valuable in itself. Professor Overbeck of Basle has criticised severely many of Dr. Zahn's contentions in *Schürer's Journal* for the 11th of March last; but he fully recognizes the value of this "extremely laborious task" and says that he "does not see how, with our existing materials, it could on the whole have been better discharged than has been done by the industry of the author." It is not the least part of its excellence that, as will be understood from what we have said, the reader is placed in a position to judge for himself, verse by verse, of the validity of each step of the reconstruction.

But the greater part of Professor Zahn's volume is occupied with discussions of the highest interest respecting the origin and character of the Diatessaron thus reconstructed, and it is to these discussions that the main attention of scholars has been directed. We observe with satisfaction that Dr. Zahn's inquiries confirm the conclusions previously published in these pages¹ respecting the close relation which subsists between Ephraem's Diatessaron and the Latin Harmony of Victor of Capua preserved in the *Codex Fuldensis*; and we do not observe that any material exception has been taken to his views and our own on this point. It is indeed curious, as Dr. Zahn observes at the outset of his work, that we are still in the same position as Victor in our lack of any direct information respecting the Diatessaron in the Greek and Latin

¹ *EXPOSITOR*, 1881, vol. ii. p. 128 *seq.*

literature previous to his time, beyond the scanty notices to which he refers. In the literature of the Western church up to the middle of the sixth century there is "no testimony, or as good as no testimony, to the existence of any such work." The absence of definite notices of the work in the Eastern church is still more strange; Clement of Alexandria, for instance, several times quotes Tatian and cites his exegetical observations on passages of the Gospels, but never intimates that Tatian composed a work of the character of the Diatessaron. It is at least doubtful whether Eusebius's brief reference to the book implies that he had himself seen it. His well known words are that Tatian "composed a sort of connection and compilation, I know not how, (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως) of the Gospels, and called it the Diatessaron. This work is current with some persons even to the present day." Dr. Lightfoot has shewn in the *Contemporary Review* (May 1877) that the Greek phrase "I know not how" by no means implies necessarily that the writer was himself unacquainted with the matter in question, but might simply express disparagement of its plan. Dr. Zahn, however, (pp. 14, 15) adduces strong reasons for believing that the expression is at all events open to the former interpretation; and considering Eusebius's interest not only, as Dr. Lightfoot observes, "in apocryphal literature" but also in questions relating to the harmony of the Gospels, it is at least strange that he nowhere gives us more particular information about Tatian's work. At all events Eusebius is the only Greek or Latin writer for the first four centuries who gives us any information on the subject; and what he tells us is extremely slight.

How are we to account for this disregard of a work of such great interest during the most active period of early Christian literature? It is no sufficient answer that Tatian was stigmatized as a heretic; for this did not prevent his reputed work being, as Eusebius testifies, current in some quarters at his

day; and we have further the explicit testimony of Theodoret of Cyrrhus in the year 453 that the book was then in use in his diocese among orthodox communities, and that he himself found more than two hundred such copies held in respect in the churches of his district. Dr. Zahn suggests an explanation of these singular circumstances which seems to us strongly recommended, at once by its simplicity and by the completeness with which it fits into all the known facts of the case. This suggestion is that Tatian, who describes himself as born in the country of the Assyrians, and who spent the latter part of his life in Syria and the neighbouring countries, wrote the Diatessaron in Syriac, for the benefit of the Syrian church in Mesopotamia, and that its use was thus confined to the churches in which Syriac was the native tongue. "If," says Dr. Zahn, "the circles from which the information of Eusebius was derived belonged to the Syriac-speaking church, and if the Diatessaron, which was ascribed to Tatian the Syrian, was a Syrian book, and during several centuries existed only in Syriac," it is easy to understand its being unnoticed in Alexandria and Rome, while its language would at least be an obstacle to its being known to Greek-speaking churches, even in Asia. It cannot, indeed, be assumed that Eusebius was unacquainted with Syriac; but there is no evidence that he was sufficiently well versed in it to study a Syriac work with ease, and the supposition at least explains his comparative disregard of Tatian's book. The suggestion offers also what seems a singularly happy explanation of a statement of Epiphanius which has occasioned great perplexity. He says that the Diatessaron was by some persons called "the Gospel according to the Hebrews." No one who knew anything of the Diatessaron could have supposed that, in substance, it in any degree resembled the document specially known as the Gospel according to the Hebrews; and, as Dr. Lightfoot says in the *Con-*

temporary Review, the statement is "a simple blunder, not more egregious than scores of other blunders which deface the pages of Epiphanius." But Dr. Zahn's suggestion enables us partly to explain the blunder. "Epiphanius," says Dr. Lightfoot, "had heard that the Diatessaron was in circulation in certain parts of Syria, and he knew also that the Gospel of the Hebrews was current in the same regions, there or thereabouts. Hence he jumped at the identification." But it would evidently give a strong colour to such an identification if the Diatessaron and the supposed Gospel were in kindred dialects. Or, as Dr. Zahn puts it (p. 25):—"If it were reported that a Syrian book of the Gospels, called the Diatessaron, was current in some catholic communities of Syria, so as, for instance, to be much used in the diocese of Cyrrhus; and if on the other hand a Gospel written in the same or a nearly allied dialect was known to be in use among the half heretical Nazareans about Beræa (Aleppo), and thus in the immediate neighbourhood of Cyrrhus, it was not unnatural that persons at a distance should suppose that the two books were allied, or should even jump to the conclusion that they were identical."

The conjecture is, in the next place, strongly confirmed by the important and definite evidence of Theodoret. Whereas, as we have seen, the Diatessaron was practically unknown in the chief churches of the East, Theodoret tells us that two hundred copies were in use in his diocese, which contained eight hundred parishes. Such a proportion of copies for use in churches indicates a very large circulation in those parts. How came it that copies were so numerous in this region, and so apparently rare in the neighbouring Greek churches? If, as has been commonly supposed, Theodoret referred to a Greek book, the contrast would be inexplicable. But the fact is that Syriac was the predominant language in Theodoret's diocese. Dr. Zahn

observes that, without reference to the question of the Diatessaron, it is stated by Garnier, in a dissertation attached to the works of Theodoret, that in the neighbourhood of Cyrrhus "almost all persons used the Syrian language; but few, even in the city, were acquainted with Greek." In the whole district, says Dr. Zahn, eastward from Antioch to far beyond the Tigris, Syriac was the native language. There is abundant evidence that it was the language of the common people at the very gates of Antioch, and Theodoret's own statements shew that Greek was rarely spoken in Cyrrhus itself. He tells us, for instance, of a man from that neighbourhood, afterwards Bishop of Carrhae, who was so ignorant of Greek that when he visited Constantinople at the desire of the Emperor, the princesses could only shew their respect for him by dumb signs. It is scarcely conceivable, therefore, that a book which was so much used in his diocese as the Diatessaron should not have been written in Syriac. Consequently, as Dr. Zahn urges, the first information we encounter respecting the Diatessaron which unquestionably rests on more than hearsay, and in which it appears as possessing real importance in the life of the Church, points to its being a Syriac book. Of this Syriac book being a translation from a Greek original there is no hint whatever either in Theodoret or in any other writer. In a word, we hear practically nothing of the book in Greek churches; but the moment we pass into the diocese of a learned bishop of the Syrian church we find two hundred copies of it in use. Up to this point, a stronger chain of circumstantial evidence in support of Dr. Zahn's supposition could hardly have been supplied by such fragmentary materials. All the circumstances are in favour of the supposition, and there are none against it.

But the testimony of Theodoret, who wrote in 453, points to the use of this Syriac Diatessaron before his

time ; and we are thus led back by Dr. Zahn to Ephraem, who died in 378. It will be unnecessary to follow our author through the evidence we stated last year, by which it has been established to the general satisfaction of critics that the work of which Dr. Moesinger published a Latin translation is the commentary which Ephraem is known to have written on the Diatessaron, and that we can therefore in great measure recover the text of the Diatessaron from Ephraem's citations. But Dr. Zahn's investigations point to some other very interesting conclusions respecting this commentary. He points out (p. 50) several striking indications that the commentary was originally delivered as a series of discourses or homilies. In addition to one passage (Moesinger, p. 83)¹ in which Ephraem seems to say that he has been carried away by his subject to speak at greater length than he intended, the exposition appears to be in many places homiletic alike in form and substance, sometimes interrupted by ejaculatory prayers. What is still more characteristic, it seems continually presupposed that the passages explained had been brought before the mind of the persons addressed, as though they had been read in church as lessons. An exposition will sometimes start from a phrase in the middle or end of a long passage, and then go back to the commencement. As a rule, Dr. Zahn thinks the lessons or portions thus commented on can be distinguished with sufficient clearness, and their order defined, while within each of the limits thus fixed the exposition passes irregularly from point to point. In fact, while the commentary enables us to fix the order in which the narratives of the Gospels were arranged, section by section, we could not fix the order of the texts within each section unless we

¹ "At nunc nostrum esset, oratione nostra pro verbis prolatis gratias agere et silere; non ac si nos hunc sermonem composuissimus, sed ipsa hæc verba propter suam cognitionem alia excitârunt, ut simul cum ipsis effluerent. Sermo igitur a nobis institutus de his verbis tractavit: 'Quis tetigit me? Ego scio virtutem magnam a me exiisse.'"

had the Gospels themselves to consult. At the same time the Commentary is not a collection of formal sermons, or even an extract from them. The expositions want the unity of thought and purpose which such discourses would require. Dr. Zahn is disposed to regard them rather as lectures to theological students. Edessa was famous for its schools, and we know that, as the present Dean of Canterbury says,¹ disciples gathered round Ephraem, "of whom many rose to eminence as teachers." "For future clergy," says Dr. Zahn (p. 54), "there would be something very suitable in the theological polemic against old and new heretics, and in the occasional comparison of the text on which the exposition is based with other texts . . . while the not unfrequent hortatory tone is quite in harmony with such a purpose."

This comparison of various texts forms a very interesting feature of the commentary, and occupies a large space in Dr. Zahn's investigations. Ephraem refers not unfrequently, and in various forms, to some other text of the Gospels than that on which he is commenting. He never speaks of that work as the Diatessaron, but refers to it usually as *Scriptura*. We doubt whether, as Dr. Zahn thinks, he also appeals not unfrequently to the Evangelists themselves, and assigns particular statements to one or other of them. But in correcting the readings of the Diatessaron, he quotes *lectiones* which appear to correspond as a rule with those of the Peshito version; and in addition, in some few cases, he cites "Graecus"; as for example on p. 29 (Moesinger) he says "*Graecus clare dicit.*" Ephraem's knowledge of Greek is a much disputed point. It is possible, as Dr. Zahn says, that, while unable to speak Greek, he may have understood it sufficiently well to refer to it for general critical purposes; or other Syrian scholars may have noted the variations of the current version from the Greek text. This point is a

¹ "Dictionary of Christian Biography," vol. ii. p. 138.

very obscure one. But on the whole it may be acknowledged that Dr. Zahn establishes a considerable probability in favour of the conclusions which he states in the following words (p. 69) :—

“ Ephraem’s Commentary shews that the church of Edessa about the years 364–373 was in a state of transition in reference to the Gospel portion of the New Testament. The Harmony, which Ephraem expounded by word of mouth and in his writings, was regarded as *Scripture*. It must have been still used in the public service of the church; otherwise it would neither have been so called, nor made by Ephraem the basis of exegetical lectures. By the side of it the Peshito version of the Gospels was known, and was read at all events by men of Ephraem’s education, while there prevailed only a sporadic and in every respect imperfect knowledge of the Greek Gospels.” Men like Ephraem, he adds, appreciated the advantages of the Peshito, which was used in other districts, as compared with the Diatessaron. The greater completeness of the former version, its agreement with the general form of “the Gospel” in the great Catholic Church where the Greek tongue was spoken, and its greater correctness as compared with the Greek text, must have combined to recommend it; and it would thus tend gradually to supersede the Harmony. From this point of view, Theodoret’s suppression of the copies of the Diatessaron in his diocese appears as though it were one of the final steps in this gradual process.

These conclusions are further supported by the evidence afforded in another series of Syriac discourses which have been preserved to us. These are “The Homilies of Aphraates,” the Persian sage, who was bishop and abbot of the convent of St. Matthew, east of Mosul. They were written between 336 and 345, and the Syriac text was published in this country in 1869. Dr. Zahn had five years ago made the observation that Aphraates cited as

the Gospel of Christ the Harmony on which Ephraem commented, and suggested that his peculiar citations from the Gospels might be explained by reference to that Harmony. The knowledge we have since obtained of Ephraem's commentary now places the truth of this conjecture beyond doubt. A careful comparison of the quotations of Aphraates with the text of Ephraem proves that he used that text and that alone, and there appear no such signs as in Ephraem's work of his use of other texts. Dr. Zahn comes to the conclusion that the only Gospel which was in ecclesiastical use among the Syrian Christians in the neighbourhood of Nineveh about the years 330-350 was a Syrian Harmony, and no other than that on which Ephraem commented. There is nothing, as he says, surprising in this fact, after what we have learned from Theodoret and Ephraem. But there is also some reason to believe, from some expressions in *The Doctrine of Addai*, that at least a hundred years before Aphraates a similar Harmony of the Gospels was in exclusive use for the public purposes of the church in Edessa.

In a word, it would seem as though the early Syrian church had received its knowledge of the Gospels mainly, if not entirely, from the Diatessaron, and had for some two centuries drawn its spiritual nourishment from thence; but that full translations of the Gospels themselves gradually made their way, until the Diatessaron disappeared from the region in which it had played so large a part. As Dr. Zahn observes, we have a close parallel to this course of events in the history of the early German church. The Diatessaron there played over again precisely the same part. Through the modified translation of Victor of Capua it was transferred to the old German language, and became one of the first books through which the Germans were made acquainted with the Gospel in their own tongue. Has any other book in church history played so strange a part

as thus to be the pioneer of evangelization in two churches so completely divided from each other as the early Syrian and the early German churches? The more we learn about this early Harmony of the Gospels the more romantic does its history appear.

We must reserve for another article a discussion of the further critical investigations which Dr. Zahn bases upon these facts; but this story, which occupies the first portion of his work, appeared sufficiently interesting to be presented to the reader by itself.

HENRY WACE.

ON THE CLEARING OF COMMENTARIES.

THIS Age, however numerous may be its other drawbacks and shortcomings, has certainly been signalized by marked progress in the science of Exegesis. It would be quite possible, for any one who was gifted with the requisite knowledge, to draw up a list of conclusions which must now be regarded as finally established. Some writers of course, whose convictions were stereotyped fifty years ago, would be still found to maintain exegetical opinions which have long been consigned to oblivion by advancing knowledge. Dead theories have a knack of going on fighting long after they are dead, like the poor warrior in Ariosto,—

“Il pover uom che non sen era accorto,
Andava combattendo, ed era morto.”

But the polemics which emanate from the shadow-land of exploded inferences may be passed over in silence; and the anathemas of ghost-like combatants who still love to regard ruins as their strongest fortresses have ceased to awake even an echo of the thunder. Any scholar who would undertake the task of provisionally recording what may now be fairly regarded as ascertained facts would

be rendering a very great service to the cause of Biblical criticism. I cannot myself pretend to furnish such a list of ascertained results; but—merely to allude to one or two general points—we may surely set down among the certainties of modern criticism of the Old Testament, that the Pentateuch in its present form could not have come exclusively from the hands of Moses; that many of the achievements and periods of the Judges were synchronous, not consecutive; that in places where there is an apparent discrepancy between the Books of Kings and Chronicles the latter books, written with an obvious purpose, are of later origin and inferior authority;¹ that the Book of Ecclesiastes was not written by Solomon; that there are few of the Psalms and Prophecies which had not a primary as well as an ultimate significance; that there must be grave hesitations about the authorship and date of the Book of Daniel; that the headings of King James's translators are in multitudes of instances founded upon the most untenable assumptions; that the conceptions of morality among the Jews shew an increasing enlightenment as time goes on; that God revealed Himself "fragmentarily" as well as "multifariously" in the "times of ignorance"; that the Bible was not intended to anticipate, and that it does not in any single instance anticipate, the discoveries of modern science; that large allowance must be made for the characteristic metaphors of an Eastern style, and in general for the laws which govern Semitic idiom; that every act recorded in the earlier stages of Jewish history must be considered with immediate reference to the state of feeling and the degree of civilization prevalent in those ages, and not be made to square with the Christian ideal by the invention of unrecorded miracles. Broad as are these principles, and commonplace as they will seem

¹ Luther said: "*Libris Regum plus crediderim quam Paralipomenon. Praecedunt centum et mille cubitos scripto Chronicorum.*"

to many readers, they yet admit of almost numberless applications. And if, among positive results, any one should also set down such facts as that the Book of Revelation is one of the earliest instead of being one of the latest Books of the New Testament; that the Wild Beast from the abyss is a symbol of the Roman Emperor and the Roman Empire; that the number of the Beast is an enigma which is solved by the name Neron Kesar in Hebrew; that Mark xvi. 9-20, John vii. 53-viii. 11 and 1 John v. 7, formed no part of the original apostolic autographs; that St. Paul was not in the remotest degree thinking of the future Popes of Rome when he spoke of the Man of Sin; that he was not the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; that the genuineness of the Second Epistle of St. Peter is highly uncertain; that the general understanding of the New Testament would be greatly improved by printing the books of which it is composed at least in an approximate order; that a very vast number of the "stock" texts quoted in proof of party dogmas are entirely distorted from their original meaning; that our best chance of advancing in the real comprehension of the Scriptures lies in studying the books as books, and the Bible as a whole, and not in splitting it up into texts to be largely used as polemical missiles;—he I say, who should enumerate these points, among many others, as being beyond the reach of serious dispute, might have books and articles written to denounce him, but would be expressing the views which are regarded as indisputable by the vast majority of such recent critics as have established any claim to serious attention.

I cannot here enter any further upon this topic, but as the number of commentaries is daily increasing, I venture to offer one or two humble and respectful suggestions which may, I think, help to clear their pages of unnecessary incumbrances.

I. From all critical and exegetical commentaries I would at once exclude all that is of a purely homiletic character, and all long disquisitions about questions of inferential theology. The readers who demand to be fed with the pammican which is requisite for sermons should have it furnished to them in separate books, in which it should be clearly understood that the "texts" are regarded not in their original and direct force, but from the sermonic point of view. Other readers, whose faith cannot be extricated from the systems and shibboleths of particular sects and churches, should be referred to such treatises of scholastic theology as will most—or, if they be wise, as will *least*—answer them according to their idols. The object of a commentator should be to establish, to elucidate, and within reasonable limits to illustrate, the real and the primary meaning of the sacred writers so far as it can be ascertained. He ought resolutely to eschew the temptation of reading his own meaning into the text. Among his most primary and essential qualifications should be reckoned the capacity to interpret words apart from the modern connotations which in the course of centuries have crystallized around them. For these reasons it is not merely *irritating* to be entangled on every page with moral platitudes and theological crotchets; it interferes directly with the "dry light" which is indispensable for attaining the intended meaning. The commentator who indulges in these digressions is apt to be warped in many directions by the necessity for discovering moral lessons where none were indicated, or he is liable to distort every available passage into the senses which most favour the differentiæ of his religious opinions. Sermon-writing upon isolated texts, and the boundless license of drawing ever-widening inferences from narrow premisses, have been more fatal than any other causes to the right understanding of the Holy Scriptures. But if a man does sincerely desire to enter the inmost

sanctuary, he must leave behind him all his idols, and above all, the shadowy *idola* of the tribe, the cavern, and the market-place—those false notions and false phrases and false traditions to which so many of us are tempted to offer our incense even while we stand before the shrine of the Most High. No incense is more acceptable to Him than absolute sincerity and unbiassed love of truth; and it is to be feared that no incense is so rarely offered.

II. Further, from the legitimate functions of Exegesis I would expel all allegorizing of plain passages. To follow the Fathers in their use of this method, *except* as a pious play of the imagination, is an inexcusable anachronism. Let us by way of instance take the Book of Judges. The function of a commentator of that Book is to explain its literal and grammatical meaning; to offer, so far as is possible, some solution of its chronological difficulties; to illustrate the thoughts and actions of men in the wild period of which it affords us a few glimpses; to shew the bearing of the book and of its separate narratives upon the history and development of the chosen people; to obviate the peril of moral confusion which may arise from contemplating the mixed actions of rude warriors in an epoch when the lessons of the wilderness had fallen into abeyance. So treated, the book is full of instruction, and rich in examples of heroic patriotism. Treated otherwise, it may be made the excuse for grave perversions of God's eternal law, and may be quoted—as it has been quoted—in defence of actions as atrocious as those of Clement and Ravailac. Nor, again, have we any more right to allegorize it than we have to allegorize any other history; far less right than the monk had in the *Gesta Romanorum* to allegorize the *Iliad* by saying that Achilles meant the spirit, and Helen the soul, and Paris the devil. Treated as the Fathers treat it, the whole force of that human history, with all its patriotic and stirring incidents, is volatilized into false and vapid

symbols. Gideon's fleece becomes a prophecy of the world and the Jewish Church, alternately dry or wet with the dews of God. The "day of Midian" is put into connexion with "the victory of God Incarnate." The breaking of Gideon's pitchers is a flashing forth of the Gospel from the broken earthen vessels of martyred saints. Abimelech foreshadows the Pope. Samson becomes a strange type of Christ—"One who out of the prostrate bodies of sin, Satan, and the grave, gathered for us the honey of spiritual sweetness and holy joy; One who was meek and lowly as Samson was in his modest beginning, but continued meek to the end; *One who overthrew his thousands and tens of thousands by the foolishness of preaching as Samson slew the Philistines by a despised instrument, the jawbone of an ass*; One who awoke at midnight from sleep—even from the sleep of death—in the strong city of a spiritual Gaza, even in the fortress of Satan, and broke asunder its iron bars and brazen bolts, and carried them away on his shoulders towards the top of a heavenly Hebron:—" and so on, at great length. That all this could be invented and elaborated by pious students shews that it cannot be the unnatural and irreverent trifling which it appears to be to many minds; but considering what manner of man Samson was—how insensate, and how immoral—such attempts to "improve" his story into a series of types of Christ, must surely be pronounced most arbitrary, and, at any rate, utterly alien from the domain of exegesis. Even if we do not go so far as to say that the "spiritualizing" method, which so effectually robs us of the divinely-human lessons of sacred history and of national experience, is in reality very unspiritual,—yet many of us are at least forced to hold the opinion that it is a method of tampering with plain narratives which is entirely unwarranted by Scripture, and unwarrantable by any sound rules of interpretation. It was excusable in centuries when there was no such thing as a

science of criticism, and when the Bible was regarded as a sort of supernatural enigma; but it cannot hold its ground in days when our reverence for the true sense of the Scriptures—as apart from the fantastic and unnatural hypotheses introduced into it as a disastrous legacy from Rabbis and Alexandrians—has been so happily deepened by those lessons of time which we recognize as coming from the Spirit of God.

III. And, along with such allegorizings, we would ruthlessly expel all invented miracles, and all attempts to put a gloss on deeds morally wrong. It is monstrous to explain Scripture on the hypothesis of a perpetual *subauditur*. No amount of reasoning can alter the fact that the deed of Jael, judged by every utterance of the moral law from Genesis to Revelation, was a cold-blooded murder, aggravated by falsehood and treachery. To judge her from our own standpoint would of course be most unfair. The rude and ignorant wife of a Kenite Arab, in days of turbulence and bloodshed, was not likely to know, as we know, that the end does not justify the means. But what are we to think of three pages of a quite modern commentary in which we read as follows:—

i. “The act of Jael was *clearly miraculous* (!). The nail *went down and sank into the ground as by a Divine impulse and impact*, for Sisera has fallen down astounded; . . . he sunk as it were paralysed and prostrate by the visitation of God, who armed and enabled a woman to subdue and destroy the enemy of the Lord and of his people.”

ii. “Almighty God *incited and enabled Jael* to do that by which she fulfilled what God had purposed and foretold should be done.”

iii. “And what is the instrument by which the Christian Jael, the Gentile Church, fixes her tent into the earth? What is it by which that tent, when extended, is firmly

fastened to the ground? *It is the cross of Christ. . . .*
'Palo illum interfecit, id est ligni Crucis acumine' (Origen)."

iv. "*There may well be a parallel between Jael and the Virgin Mary. Deborah sings the Magnificat of Jael.*"

v. "And is it irrelevant to remark that Jael is called the wife of Heber, but nothing is said of Heber himself? Now the tent is called 'the tent of Jael the wife of Heber'! *Is this altogether without a mystery? (!)* The tent in which the Lord of all took our nature and *tabernacled* in us (John i. 14) was the Blessed Virgin; and she was the wife of Joseph, and yet Joseph has no part in the work by which the world was saved, and our enemy was destroyed."

These are brief extracts from five closely printed columns of a commentary on the Book of Judges. The sentiments are pious; the writer is a learned, holy, and much revered scholar; and the style of moral application may have been regarded as genuine exegesis by Origen and Ambrose, and St. Prosper, and the Venerable Bede. But how many can affirm that all this tends to *explain* in an honest way the Book of Judges? Most readers who approach the study of the Bible with the conviction that it is a book thoroughly Divine to us because it is also thoroughly human, will love it infinitely less if it be thus converted into a sphinx, speaking in arbitrary riddles, and will be inclined to say, "*Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.*" If we are to have allegory let us have it in treatises avowedly allegorical. It would surely be a waste of space in any ordinary commentary to discuss interpretations which rest on no basis and lead to no result. They must be regarded as merely Kabbalistic, like the discovery of the Pseudo-Barnabas that Abraham's 318 servants are a type of Christ on the cross (TIH); and the notion of other Fathers that Gideon's 300 soldiers formed "one body with three equal parts," and so (possibly) foreshadowed "the doctrine of one Divine Godhead and three coequal Persons, the doctrine of the ever-

blessed Trinity." Has there ever been any human being since time began who felt his belief in the Trinity strengthened by one iota from the fact that Gideon fought with 300 soldiers? Do not such attempts to foist mystic fancies into genuine history do more harm than they can possibly do good?

IV. Again:—I think that there ought to be no room in commentaries for the discussion of the merest hypotheses. The fact that such hypotheses have been invented by this or that writer really furnishes no excuse for wasting the reader's time by their needless refutation. When once they have been mentioned as curiosities of exegesis, or conjectures of ingenuity, they ought to be set aside as unprofitable observations which add nothing to our substantial knowledge. In reading the Bible we have such deep need for the Divine light most of all, and next for the light of the unbiassed reason, that we can only lose by following mere Will-o'-the-wisps, which flicker over places where no foot can tread.

a. Take for instance St. Paul's message in Philippians iv. 2 to Euodia and Syntyche. A commentator who, like the Bishop of Durham, proves that these are the names of two *ladies*, not of two *men*, Euodias and Syntyches, and who illustrates this by the demonstrated prominence of women in the Philippian Church, is throwing real light on the original. But he very rightly contents himself with merely *mentioning* once for all Volkmar's extraordinary suggestion that the name Euodia implies orthodoxy and indicates the Petrine Party, while Syntyche means "the partner," and implies the Gentile Church. Instead of discussing this outrageous invention of Tübingenism run mad, the Bishop wisely passes it over with the remark that "it is needless to waste time on this learned trifling."

β. Yet we find some conjectures and combinations which are a mere congeries of linked "perhapses" repeated in com-

mentary after commentary. One harmless but quite baseless specimen of very precarious inference has found its way into many exegetical volumes, but ought, I think, to be finally set aside. It is the theory about Claudia and Pudens mentioned (but not *together*, for the name Linus comes between) in 2 Timothy iv. 21. Archdeacon Williams, in his "Discourses and Essays" (1857), devotes nearly fifty pages to an attempt to shew that "Claudia was daughter of Cogidubnus, a British chief, and that having come to Rome she was converted to Christianity, and was married to Pudens, and afterwards returned with her husband to Britain, where he held lands under her father Cogidubnus." Now Martial mentions a Claudia who was married to a Pudens, a man who was addicted to the worst heathen vices and who became a primipilar centurion. A combination of the facts recorded in a conjecturally emended inscription found at Chichester, with other facts mentioned in Tacitus (*Agricola*, 14), shews that Cogidubnus, a British vassal-king, had taken the name Claudius and was in some way connected with a Pudens.

There is the narrow aperture of fact; here are the spreading smoke-wreaths of inference:—

Martial mentions a blue-eyed British maiden named Claudia Rufina, and it had been already conjectured on very slight grounds that she was a daughter of Caractacus and a native of Colchester. It is now, however, supposed that this lady *may* have been admitted into the Claudian gens; and *may* have taken the name of Rufina; because she *may* have been the protégée of Pomponia, wife of Aulus Plautius; who *may* have been called Rufa. As Pomponia *may* have been a Christian (*Tac. Ann.*, xiii. 32), and so *may* have converted Claudia, Martial's epigrams indicating the vicious life of Pudens *may* have been written before his conversion and marriage, and his invocation of Hymenæus *may* be connected with a Christian marriage. But even

after we have wasted all this time in elaborating a rope of sand, there is absolutely nothing to connect the Pudens and Claudia mentioned (but not even mentioned together) by St. Paul with the Claudia and Pudens of Martial. It is *a priori* most improbable that men like the Pudens of Martial should have been among the Christian converts, who were, with scarcely an exception, slaves and freedmen and artisans. In the Rome of that day there were probably hundreds of Claudias, and dozens of men who bore the name of Pudens. What do we gain by the pursuit and discussion of bare possibilities, which even when, by a long series of conjectures, they are imagined to be dimly possible, still remain to the last degree improbable, and therefore un-instructive?

Indeed I think that Newton's great rule "*Hypotheses non fingo*" would be a very useful one for most commentators. Conjectures which float in the air, or dangle from a mere thistledown of possibility, are highly distracting, and, even when they do no worse harm, at least waste a great deal of valuable time.

γ. Here for instance is a recent theory about the Second Epistle of St. John.

It is that the Epistle is addressed by St. John to the Church of Babylon as a sisterly greeting and Apostolic reply to the greeting which St. Peter in his First Epistle had addressed to the elect in St. John's Churches of Asia.

Very beautiful and touching no doubt, though a little euphuistic if it were so. But on what a mass of the merest conjectures does such a theory rest! It assumes (among other assumptions)—

i. That St. John's "elect lady" or, "lady Electa" or "elect Kyria" is a Church, and not (which is the far more simple and natural view) a Christian lady.

ii. It assumes that "Babylon" in 1 Peter v. 13 means Babylon; and not (as is all but certain) Rome.

iii. It assumes that the "the co-elect" (ἡ συνεκλεκτή) in that verse is a Church,—which is indeed probable though not certain.

iv. It assumes that St. John was familiar with the First Epistle of St. Peter; which *may* be true, but of which there is no trace of proof.

v. It assumes that St. John's brief letter was addressed to Babylon, which is most wildly improbable, and has not a word to be said in its favour except what looks like a series of blunders. St. Clement, in a Latin translation of his Hypotyposes, is made (by a mistake which corrects itself) to say that St. John's Second Epistle was addressed to *Virgins*; and then, if any dependence can be placed on the Latin translation, he contradicts himself in the very next line by saying that it is addressed to *a certain Babylonian lady* named Electa (who certainly could not have been a virgin), so that

vi. It is assumed that "ad Virgines" represents πρὸς παρθένους and that "*Parthenous*" is a mistake for *Parthos*; and that "*Parthos*" implies a letter to Babylon. Q.E.D.!

V. And while we are on the subject of this "Elect Lady" we may quote part of a specimen note from the interminable verborosities of Karl Braune.

"To what purpose is it that Kyria was a female name . . . and that this was maintained by Athanasius and later (!) by Benson, Heumann, Bengel, Krigele, Brückner, Lücke, Düsterdieck, and others. . . . So Luther, Piscator, Beza, Heidegger, Rittmeier, Wolf, Baumgarten-Crusius, Lauder, and al.; à Lapide reports her to have been called Drusia or (!) Drusiana. Carpzovius supposes that Martha the sister of Lazarus is the person addressed; Knauer suggests Mary the mother of the Lord, etc., etc."

In this same note we have the additional views of Augustine, Jerome, Scholiast I., Calov, Hofmann, Hilgenfeld, Huther, Serrarius, Whiston, Whitby, Michaelis, etc. It illustrates the necessity of clearing our commentaries from

rubbish-heaps of idle and baseless theories, and rubbish-heaps of vainly-accumulated names. This vice of recording *everything* is peculiarly German. The German exegete apparently feels himself bound to refer even to every school-programme, however valueless, however second-hand, which touches on his subject. He is stung by an *œstrum* which drives him to demonstrate the width of his learning, or at any rate the extent of his researches. But as Voltaire wisely says

“ Mais malheur à l'auteur qui veut toujours instruire ;
Le secret d'ennuyer est celui de tout dire.”

As to mere theories, however, heterodoxy cannot assign the palm of recklessness to orthodoxy. Both are guilty of encumbering the pages of exegesis with masses of purely untenable theories. Here for instance is Baur's theory of the Third Epistle of St. John.

He assumes:—i. That the Epistle was not written by St. John.

ii. That the “ certain Babylonian Electa ” of St. Clement means the Romish Church.

iii. That Diotrophes symbolically designates Anicetos or one of the early Roman Bishops.

iv. That the letter was written by a Montanist, who shews the heat of his party-spirit by characterizing the orthodox party of Diotrophes as heathens.

v. That Gaius was at the head of the Montanists.

vi. That the letter alluded to in 3 John 9 was addressed to Gaius.

Now to all such arbitrary and reckless guesswork, I apply the remark elsewhere made by Baur himself, “ It is not worth while to discuss vague hypotheses which have no support in history, and no coherence in themselves.”

And I urge that all record of such groundless guesswork which has failed to win a single adherent should be remorse-

lessly expelled from commentaries, and retained (if at all) in histories of the vagaries of exegesis.

VI. Once more, I would entirely eliminate even the discussion of *à priori* schemes invented to explain away the plain and obvious meaning of words and passages.

α. A salient instance is afforded by the record in Galatians ii. 11-21 of the rebuke administered by St. Paul to St. Peter at Antioch. The notion that "Kephas" was some unknown person and not the Apostle Peter, though suggested by no less a man than Clement of Alexandria, found very few followers; but Origen's theory that the dispute was not real, and was only a preconcerted scene, was supported by St. Chrysostom, and, at one period of his career, by St. Jerome. It need not here be further alluded to because no one now ventures to maintain a method of interpretation of which the falsity was demonstrated even by St. Augustine. It only serves to shew the lengths to which even good and great scholars and thinkers can be misled by the ceaseless influence of bias, against which every sincere commentator should be unsleepingly upon his guard.

β. In this case the false and (unconsciously) disingenuous theory arose from *à priori* notions of Apostolic infallibility; in the next instance false, and scarcely more ingenuous, methods of interpretation are due to *à priori* conceptions of what is and what is not conformable with our ideal of the early Christian Church.

St. Paul, in his great argument about the Resurrection, suddenly introduces an *argumentum ad hominem* by asking "Else what shall they do who are *baptized for the dead*, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?"

I venture to say that no human being would have ever dreamed of doubting St. Paul's meaning, but for conceptions which they bring with them to his perusal and which find no shadow of support in his own words.

"Some of you," he says, "assert that there is no resurrection of the dead; how is this consistent with the custom of some among you of getting themselves baptized for the dead?" Nothing was more natural than such a practice in the then immature condition of knowledge in the infant Churches. They were all expecting the immediate Advent of Christ (Rom. xiii. 12; Phil. iv. 5; 2 Thess. ii. 2; 1 Pet. iv. 7, etc.). Many of them were also labouring under the apprehension that those who died before that Advent would be grievous losers, and perhaps would not be partakers of the Resurrection. St. Paul writes to the Thessalonians with the express object of correcting this misapprehension (1 Thess. iv. 15). But, since it existed, we can see how much stronger this dread would be in cases where a Christian died unbaptized. The postponement of baptism, even till the approach of death, became (as we know) a common practice in the Christian Church, and it is a phenomenon which we constantly find in missionary experience. Inevitably, then, some must have died before their baptism was accomplished; and in that case nothing would have seemed more natural for a heartbroken survivor than to be (if haply that might be of any avail) baptized for the departed relative. We know that this practice of baptism by proxy on behalf of the dead actually did exist among the Cerinthians and Marcionites, and it can be paralleled by similar customs in heathen antiquity.

But it is argued that St. Paul *cannot* mean this, because—

i. We cannot suppose that a Christian Church would ever sanction so superstitious a proceeding; and

ii. St. Paul could not have mentioned the practice without condemning it.

Hence, because of two purely *à priori* assumptions, both equally untenable, the plain and obvious meaning of St. Paul's words must be explained away. This is done in

so many ways that Bengel says it would require a dissertation even to give a mere catalogue of these interpretations. It is done sometimes, in bold defiance of the grammar, by making the words *ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* mean "over the dead," i.e. on their sepulchres. Others, in equally bold defiance of the plain meaning of plain words, make "on behalf of the dead" mean "for those who are dying," or "on behalf of their own *bodies*," or "in the profession that the dead will rise from their grave." "Every baptized person," says Bishop Wordsworth in the long note in which he defends this view, "was an *apologist for the dead*; he vindicated them from the calumnies of the sceptic; he was *baptized* on their *behalf*." Others, by way of twisting the requisite means of escape out of the *other* word in the clause, explain, "they who are *baptized*" to mean "those who are *immersed in sufferings*"! Even Rosenmüller was content with this transparent subterfuge.

All such obvious endeavours to get rid of perfectly unambiguous statements in favour of groundless prejudices ought to be expelled from the domain of exegesis. Any commentator would at once demonstrate his unfitness for his work who thought it his duty to reproduce all the monstrosities of interpretation recorded in explanation of this passage in Poole's *Synopsis*. Since the assumptions which lead to such playing with words are false, the numerous modes of tampering with the plain meaning should be simply set aside without notice. After what St. Paul tells us of the Church of Corinth, it would not surprise us to find practices among them far more reprehensible than this, and far more superstitious. Nor ought we to be surprised that St. Paul does not here break the thread—or rather impede the rush and sweep—of his argument, to rebuke the practice. It was his mental characteristic (1) to attend to one thing at a time, and (2) to argue against others from their own concessions. In

1 Cor. x. 8 he does not pause to rebuke the sitting at meat in an idol's temple; in xi. 5 he expresses no disapprobation of women speaking in public. "When his mind is full of a particular subject," says Dr. Hodge, "he does not leave it to pronounce judgment on things incidentally introduced." Thus neither in the nature of things, nor in his own character, is any excuse to be found for distorting his words into multitudes of senses not one of which would have been conveyed by the words to the original readers.

γ. I will conclude this paper with one more instance. It shall be the famous passage (1 Cor. xi. 10), "For this cause ought the woman to have *power* on her head *because of the angels*." On the meaning of the word "power" I shall not speak farther than to say that it most obviously means some kind of vail or covering. A friend supposes that it was a local word, and that you would have been understood if you had gone into any Christian or Jewish shop at Corinth and asked to see so many *exousiai* at so many drachmas apiece. However this may be, the *reason* why this particular head-gear was called "a power" must be merely conjectural, although (if this were our subject) the reason is not difficult to divine. But the desperate conjectural emendations—*exiousa*, *hexousian*, *exoubian*, *ex ousias*, *kausian*, etc., are follies that deserve no mention. The latter clause—"because of the angels"—furnishes a good illustration of the all-but universal determination not to explain, but to explain away. First came the ridiculous emendation *διὰ τὰς ἀγέλας* "on account of the crowds," with the cognate absurdities of *andras*, *engelastas*, *angelias*, *ochlous*, etc. Then came the extraordinary attempt to explain the word "angels" as meaning "messengers," "spies," "bishops," or "divorces" (!); or to make the clause a sudden adjuration, introduced by St. Paul, "by the angels!" I say that these follies do not deserve a record. The only real

question is, does St. Paul mean that women ought to cover their heads in order not to drive away *the good angels*; or to avoid the contaminating intrusion of *bad angels*? If we interpret the clause by the entire tendency of Jewish and Oriental thought, we must take the latter view. It probably would never have been disputed by any critic who knew the many parallels to this reasoning in Eastern writings and among the Rabbis, and who bore in mind the Jewish belief about the cause of the Fall of the Angels, as intimated in Gen. vi. 2-4; Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4. In that sense most of the Book of Enoch furnishes a comment on this verse. The only valid, or half-valid, objection to an interpretation so consonant to the schools of thought with which St. Paul was familiar from lifelong training, is to be found in the statement that the "angels," when used without qualification, invariably means "good angels." Is this, however, so certain? When St. Paul says that the saints "will judge angels" (1 Cor. vi. 3), is it reasonable to explain it in any other sense than that of evil or fallen angels? But may not St. Paul in this passage about women have meant angels of both kinds—alike good and bad? Women ought according to Eastern notions to be veiled, lest by being unveiled they shame or put to flight the good angels; and lest they attract the presence of other and evil spirits—the *Shedim* who play so large a part in later Rabbinic stories—who were angels once. The only possible alternative is to suppose that, as a matter of general decency and order, St. Paul bids women to veil themselves in public, by way of expressing their reverence to the angels who are supposed to be present in the assemblies of Christian worship. But whatever shade of interpretation we may adopt as to the matter the one important thing is that we be not tempted to explain away what St. Paul says because the conceptions in which he had been trained are no longer familiar to ourselves.

But, to conclude; the object of this brief paper is to recommend a style of exegesis less tedious, less infructuous, less intolerably repellent, and, above all, less absolutely second-hand, than that which has been too long in vogue. It is a real misfortune, especially to the young, that the characteristic of so many professed commentaries is their interminable verbosity and their terrible dulness. It is a still greater misfortune to the old that their progress should be blocked up by accumulations of the obsolete, and by whole trains of reflexion and comment, not founded upon the real meaning of the author, but upon the erroneous fancies thrust into his words by bias and tradition. Nothing is more unprofitable than commentaries stuffed with known, half-known, and unknown German names; with masses of traditional, unverified, and often misleading references; with trite or ponderous moral reflexions; with lengthy discussions of theological minutiae with many of which the sacred writer was absolutely unconcerned; with illimitable inferences; with reckless emendations; with masses of collateral or barely collateral "information;" with superfluous geography, history, and archæology, nine-tenths of which can have little or no bearing on the subject, and which would have been quite as new to the inspired writers as to the reader; with theories elaborately baseless; with the fantastic allegorizing of simple historic narratives; with attempts to get rid of all views which do not accord with our own preconceived dogmas; with the rival egotisms of divergent exegetes; with party innuendoes; with impossible lexical and grammatical suggestions; with defences of the morally indefensible; with attempts to be exhaustive; with long discussions of slightly varying opinions; with efforts to make impossibly nice distinctions in the variation of words, tenses and particles; with the predetermined struggles to maintain, at all costs, the patristic or the traditional interpretations. If we clear away all that may

be fairly classed under these heads, we shall indeed have made havoc with many pages of thick exegetical volumes, but we shall have far ampler scope for the discovery of what the sacred writers really tell us. And if our commentaries sink into more attenuated proportions out of their present enormous and unwieldy bulk, they will gain indefinitely in interest, in sincerity, in profitableness, and above all in adaptation to the one end at which they all should aim—namely the spread of the true knowledge of Holy Writ.

John of Salisbury in his “Metalogicus,” ii. 7, says of the scholasticism of his day:—“*Fiunt itaque in puerilibus Academici senes; omnem dictorum aut scriptorum excutunt syllabam, immo et literam; dubitantes ad omnia, quaerentes semper, sed nunquam ad scientiam pervenientes; et tandem convertuntur ad vaniloquium. . . . Compilant omnium opiniones, et ea quae etiam a vilissimis dicta vel scripta sunt, ab inopia judicii scribunt et referunt: proponunt enim omnia, quia nesciunt praeferre meliora. Tanta est opinionum oppositionumque congeries ut vix suo nota esse possit auctori.*”

This, and more to the same effect, was written in the twelfth century. Is it not an exact description of many modern commentaries? What are we to say about commentaries on a single epistle which occupy nine hundred pages, and in which there is no proportion between the mass of chaff and the few grains of genuine wheat?

F. W. FARRAR.

AND GOD CREATED GREAT WHALES.

GENESIS i. 21.

It is curious and a little pitiful to note how Design and Evolution are pitted against each other—as if the one were contrary to the other—in much of the controversial literature of the day, and how this illogical conflict on a false issue culminates just where it should find no place, at the annual meetings of the British Association. For, surely, it is not only obvious that evolution may be simply a method in which the creative design is worked out, but also that, if it be, it implies a design far more subtle, profound, and far-reaching than that involved in the older hypothesis of successive acts of creation. If the whole infinitely varied round of Nature has been *produced* from a single point, if, so to speak, the whole universe has grown from a single seed, He who created that seed—assuming for a moment that it had a Creator—and stored up in it the potencies which it has unfolded and is to unfold through incalculable æons, must have possessed a wisdom which we can hardly distinguish from Omniscience, and a power which we can hardly distinguish from Omnipotence; and all the marks of design which we trace in the unfolded flower must speak to us of a forethought more, and not less, wonderful and divine than if that flower had been built up petal by petal and touched in tint by tint.

(2) Whether or not Evolution be the most fitting and adequate word to describe, for the present, the genesis of the universe, there can be no doubt that a vast process of development has taken place; for all the sciences—*e.g.* astronomy, geology, embryology—point to it with one consent, and all the results of observation and experience as they are read off by the most competent interpreters. And yet, on consideration, even the most advanced and sceptical

philosopher must admit that Evolution is not and cannot be the *final* word of science, though it be the last it has yet uttered. For it does not cover and explain all the facts of which science takes cognizance, nor even the ultimate and fundamental facts; as, for example, the origin of matter and force (if these be two, and not one), the origin of life, the origin of consciousness. Great and marvellous as is the advance which science has made during the last fifty years, those who most triumphantly proclaim its advance and are most competent to appreciate it will be the last to deny that it has still greater victories to achieve in the future, and that it is very far from having reached its goal. It will yet discover some higher law, speak some larger nobler word,—a word, perchance, which will cover and illuminate the fundamental problems which for the present it is compelled to leave unsolved, or even untouched. To pronounce Evolution the final word, to ban all who do not implicitly accept it as an adequate solution of the mystery of the universe, is therefore to sin, as against science herself, so also against that law of progress which has as surely governed all human discoveries as it has marked all the successions of nature. While, on the other hand, to deny development, to doubt that through the whole realm of nature there has been a slow, laborious, and gradual ascent from simple to more complex, from inferior to higher, forms, is to be wilfully blind and deaf to the teaching of all the facts within our reach.

(3) It has been the constant misfortune of science to number among her votaries men who have so little of her spirit as to fulminate anathemas against all who do not accept her last as her final word, and adjust the whole circle of their beliefs to what may be only an unverifiable hypothesis and is sure to prove an inadequate solution of the great problem. These bigots of science are as truly the worst enemies of science as the bigots of the church are

the worst enemies of true religion. And he is the truly scientific man who rebukes and withstands these hasty and ignorant bigots in the name of science herself; and who, as he glances at the long muster roll of her triumphs, finds in it ample space for more, and more glorious, inscriptions than those which have already been so fairly written and so splendidly illuminated upon it. But even the bigots of science,—no, nor even the hypocrites of science who, knowing more and better than her bigots, nevertheless stoop to support their narrow intolerant dogmas and to swell the volume of their anathemas—are not so untrue to their high calling and vocation as are those who, professing to believe in God as the Maker of all things and the Saviour of all men, nevertheless fear lest any accurate interpretation of his works should convict Him of having contradicted Himself, convict Him of being double-minded and double-voiced, so that, unless they “lie for Him,” the “truth” cannot be known or cannot prevail. The perversion is so monstrous and unnatural that no severer condemnation of it is possible than the bare statement of it. Yet who can deny that there have been many “good men” who have thought to do God service by both misreading the Bible and refusing to read the book of science; *i.e.*, by closing their eyes against the plain facts both of Scripture and of the natural universe?

(4) There is perhaps no one subject, there is surely no one document, which the bigots whether of science or of religion have treated with more intolerable unfaithfulness and insincerity than the ancient tradition of the origin of all things which Moses has inserted in, with which he has commenced, the Book of Genesis. Yet, viewed fairly, looked at with the open eyes that desire the truth, with due consideration of its date, purpose, method, it may be doubted whether there is any one document over which true science and true religion could meet with heartier consent. Both have, and both should claim, an interest

in it. The first chapter of the Bible is also the opening page of the book of science, and records her first veritable triumph ; nor, if only this first page be rightly read, has she even yet done much more than confirm and expand it.

(5) How, then, may we reach or recover the right point of view? In many ways, no doubt, if only we bring an honest and open mind to the task ; but none seems more valuable than that suggested by the brief phrase which stands as title to this brief essay. For in the words, "And God created great whales," we may find a key to the whole story of creation as narrated in the Book of Genesis. We approach this key as we observe that "great whales"—literally, "sea monsters," and doubtless alligators and crocodiles rather than whales would be in the author's mind—are the only creatures of whom specific mention is made in this Chapter, and consider the motive for mentioning them. It speaks indeed of domestic cattle and of wild beasts, but not of the lion or the ox ; it speaks of the fowl of the air and of the creeping things of the earth, but no one species of these genera is singled out for special note. It is only when we come to the fish of the sea, which the waters bring forth abundantly, that the creation of any single species is recorded, and a word is used which would call up in the minds of the first readers of this document an image of the monsters they had seen disporting themselves in the Nile. Now why is that? No naturalist, no man of science, intent on purely scientific objects, would have written thus, or have made this solitary exception. No, and therefore in this exception we have a hint that the whole document was written not from a purely scientific or naturalistic but from a religious point of view. For the crocodile—regarded as a noble animal type, a fine symbol of Nature's work—was *worshipped* in Egypt. The Israelites had grown familiar with that worship in the house of their bondage, and were only too prone to revert to it, as

their after history proves. By a single stroke of his pen, then, either Moses or the original author of the document, teaches them that the crocodile was not a god but a creature of God, and condemns the whole system of idolatry, of animal or nature worship, by which the world was then oppressed. Following up the phrase to its last resort, we find in it an attempt to free the minds of men from a more cruel bondage than that of Egypt, bondage to the mere brute forces of nature, and to raise them to their true place as lords of the natural world and not its slaves.

(6) Nor is this the only hint contained in this Chapter of the religious intention by which it was inspired and shaped. It is full of such hints. Much easy satire has been expended, for example, on the Mosaic view of the function of sun, moon, and stars. According to Moses, we are told, the vast solar and sidereal systems have no other use than to give light to men, or to serve them "for signs and for seasons, and for days and for years." But, it is asked, can any rational mind believe that that vast array of bodies celestial was designed solely for the benefit of our tiny planet, or of the creatures who inhabit it?

Those who criticize Moses should at least, however, take the pains to place themselves at his point of view. And as it is very obvious that no reasonable and thoughtful man, writing from the purely scientific or astronomical point of view, could possibly imagine that sun, moon, and stars were created solely for earthly uses, and as moreover we have quite as good ground for attributing the "godlike faculty" to this great statesman and lawgiver as to any of his critics, would it not be reasonable, as well as charitable, to inquire both whether Moses does affirm them to have no other use, and whether in emphasizing this special-use he may not have had other than a scientific motive? In Chaldea, the ancestral home of the sons of Abraham, the great lights of heaven were worshipped as themselves divine, and this

lustrous celestial veil was drawn over the face of the Almighty and hid Him from his seeking children. May not Moses then have written from a religious, instead of a scientific, point of view? May he not have made this emphatic and repeated assertion of the creation of sun, moon, and stars, and of their ministry to man, in order to withdraw the intercepting veil, in order to teach us that we should worship none other god than the Father of the lights, and to persuade us that even the glorious orbs of heaven, to which men once paid Divine honours, are our servants and ministers, not our lords?

If we but think ourselves back into the time and place of Moses, remember that he was the redeemer and mediator of Israel, that it was his special mission to reveal God and his will to them, and to lift them out of the ignorance and bondage in which all races were then sunk; and then, with all this well in mind, turn to his story of the creation, we shall find in it a hundred proofs that it *was* written from the religious, and not from the scientific, point of view; and that, in writing or in copying and adapting it to his purpose, he was impelled by the very motive which animated him throughout his career; viz. the desire to raise Israel, from its bondage to sense and nature, into the freedom and dignity proper to man and into the service and worship of the only true God.

(7) In insisting on this higher and religious motive, however, I do not for a moment admit that, even from a scientific point of view, much can be reasonably alleged against it, provided always that we read it with the same fairness which we are expected and bound to bring to the perusal of any scientific or sceptical treatise. It is a very ancient document that lies before us; probably long anterior, in substance at least, to the time of Moses, though he may have recast it into its present shape. It is far and away the oldest document in the world. And we might fairly

claim for it, therefore, that it should be read with the large allowance which is readily extended to almost every ancient document outside the covers of the Bible. It was primarily intended, moreover, for the instruction of men to whom both science and letters were unknown. Hence it must of necessity be concise, simple, memorable, free from technical formulæ, couched in such plain terms as plain men use. The very utmost we could demand of it is that it should contain no demonstrable and fatal error; that it should be pliant to or leave room for the discoveries of widening science and experience; and that, to the end of time, it should fulfil some high moral or religious function. How happily it meets, how generously it outruns, these conditions has been demonstrated again and again, and is now very widely admitted, admitted the more frankly and heartily in proportion as its critics possess the erudition which enables them to compare it with the other ancient documents that cover, or profess to cover, the same ground. Those who possess even the slightest acquaintance with the cosmogonies and mythologies of ancient India, Egypt, Chaldea, Greece even, cannot but confess that the story of the creation told by Moses is simplicity and sobriety itself when compared with *them*; that it is not bound up, as they are, with monstrous and impossible misreadings both of the natural universe and of the genesis of man; and that its terms are so simple, so general, so flexible as to leave verge for any conclusions which science may reach.

The "days" of creation have, indeed, been gravely denounced or lightly ridiculed from the time when men began to let their reason play freely on Scriptures which were long held to be sacred from criticism. But many very competent critics now see in this "week of days" only a mnemonic device which made it easier to commit the story to memory and to hand it down in an unbroken tradition;

while they admit that the general order of creation, or of evolution, given by Moses tallies, at least in its main outlines, with the last hypotheses of science. And of this we may be very sure, that if the document recorded in the first Chapter of Genesis had been discovered among the papyri of Egypt or the inscriptions of Babylon, or even if its substance had been traced in the discourses of a Greek philosopher or the verses of a Latin poet, the whole scientific and literary world, even that small portion of it which girds at the Bible, would have received it with an instant chorus of admiration and astonishment; while if the "origins of things" which we find in the sacred books of Asia, Africa or Europe, had been found between the covers of the Bible, even the staunchest believer must have repudiated them, and, with them, the whole system with which they were indissolubly intertwined.

(8) From the purely scientific point of view the Mosaic account of the creation is no doubt very defective, though it cannot fairly be said to be inaccurate. But, as we have seen, it does not profess to have been written from that point of view; and we need claim for it nothing more than that it is the best conception of the genesis of the universe which the world's "gray fathers" were able to form or to receive. In such terms as they could apprehend, the ancestral race of man was taught that the world and all that it contains came from God, that it was fashioned by his wisdom, in a gradual orderly way, for a definite and gracious end. It is philosophic rather than scientific; *i.e.*, it rather expresses man's first and best thoughts concerning first causes and their first effects than lays out in order a scientific report of the origin of all things. And why should we demand science of Moses? No one expects to find in the Ten Commandments a systematic code of laws, an elaborate and complete scheme of jurisprudence. Why, then, should we expect to find modern science in the first

Chapter of Genesis any more than we expect to find modern jurisprudence in the Decalogue? All just legislation indeed implies the fundamental moralities of the "Ten Words"; and so all science, truly so called, implies the fundamental simplicities of the opening document of Genesis. But to look for a scientific treatise in Genesis is about as wise as to look for an elaborate jurisprudence in Exodus.

Nevertheless, when science has grown ripe, it may be that its last, simplest, and grandest generalizations will correspond, in a quite surprising way, with the ancient and simple generalities of the Book of Genesis. And we may, perhaps, find one hint of this correspondence in the recent discoveries of the spectroscope. It has been demonstrated that the very salts and metals which we find in the earth exist in the solar and sidereal light; so that possibly light may have in itself the constituent and originative germs of all terrestrial things, and, in the most exact scientific sense, the universe may be but a product, an incarnation and epiphany, of light. But should that be so, will not this generalization of science correspond very happily with the words of Moses, who tells us that, in his first creative fiat, God said "Let there be light," creating first that from which, *ex hypothesi*, all else was to proceed?

Time was too, we may add in passing, when the existence of light prior to the creation of sun, moon, and stars, was a theme for ridicule; but now that, in their study of the nebulae, astronomers have discerned the existence of "a self-luminous substance, of an inconceivable tenuity, diffused over spaces so vast as to baffle every effort to define them," men of science now proclaim as a fact that which they once ridiculed as absurd.

(9) But it is when we look at the Mosaic narrative as a whole that we see most clearly what room it leaves for the advancing discoveries of science, and how evidently it

was cast into a portable and rememberable form. We are told at the outset that the earth was "without form and void." It needed, therefore, first to be put into form, and then fitted or furnished. These two processes constituted the work of the six "days." For these six days are divisible into two groups—a first three, and a second three. In the first three God gives form to the formless earth; in the second three He fills the void earth with an innumerable multitude of living things. That which is without form is without use; that which is void is not being used. God will not suffer the world to be either useless or unused. Only when it is drawn into shape and peopled with innumerable forms of life can He take delight in it. Hence God says of each day's work, "It is good"; but only when the end crowns the work, and the world is both formed and occupied, does He pronounce it "very good."

What are the steps or stages of this work? First, light springs up in darkness; second, the aerial heavens are divided from the waters; third, the earth emerges from the deep and brings forth grass and herb; fourth, the great lights are made to rule the day and to rule the night; fifth, the fish of the sea and the fowl of the air are called into being; sixth, the beasts of the earth are formed, and man, the crown and lord of them all. This is the work of the six days; and these days, as I have said, may be divided into two groups; a first three in which God *forms* the formless earth, and a second three in which He *fills* the empty earth.

Look, then, at the first group, the formative group. In these, we are told, God separates the light from the darkness; then He separates the aerial heaven from the heaving waters; and then He separates the earth from the sea and causes it to bring forth and bud. Thus, by successive acts of separation, the world is drawn into form, drawn within bounds that define it; the chaos is dissolved into its

separate elements,¹ fire (light), air, water, earth. And these four are evoked in the most philosophic order; *i.e.*, from the finest and most subtle to the grossest and coarsest. There is first the light, which is the finest; then there is the air, the next in fineness; then there is the water, which is grosser, but still finer than the earth; then there is the earth itself, the grossest of them all. Nay, more, these elemental acts of creation culminate in vegetation, which embraces all four of them. Its substance is of the earth earthy; its tissues are filled with water; its lungs breathe in and breathe out air; and the light, or heavenly fire, permeates its whole being, giving it both its beauty and its fruitfulness.

And now let us take the second group of days, and mark how exactly it corresponds to the other; how the fourth day answers to the first, the fifth to the second, the sixth to the third. On the first day we have the genesis of light out of darkness; and on the fourth day the sun, the lord of light, is made, as are also those pure and sacred princes of darkness, the moon and the stars. On the second day the aerial firmament divides the upper from the inferior waters; and on the fifth the birds of the air and the fish of the sea are created and made. On the third day the solid earth is formed; and on the sixth day the earth brings forth beast and cattle and creeping thing, each after its kind. Nay, as the work of the first three days, during which the elements were created, culminated in vegetation which combines all the elements in itself, so the work of the second three days, during which the living creatures were called into being, culminated in man, who combines in himself all the special faculties and virtues of the animate world.

Obviously there is method here, there is design. And

¹ Of course I use this word throughout in its popular, not in its scientific sense.

the design of the method is not only to help the memory and ensure an accurate tradition, but also to convey the thought that God put forth his creative powers according to a wise and divine order; first, creating the elements, from the finer and more subtle down to the grosser; and then furnishing the elements with animated forms of life, from the simpler and ruder to the more complex and perfect.

Men of science have laid so much stress on "the days" of this ancient narrative that they have overlooked the wisdom and simplicity with which it conveys true and large impressions of the origin of all things. If, in a large simple way, speaking to the simple and unlettered on the genesis of the world, we were to speak thus: First, God gave shape to the shapeless earth, then He filled the empty earth; first He created the elements, beginning with the most subtle and creative, and coming down to the most gross and material; then He filled the elements with their appropriate tenants, beginning now at the lowest end of the scale and working upward from the most simple and rudimentary structures to the most subtle, complex, perfect: if that were our story of the creation, as it is that of Moses, would any scientific man who believes in God the Maker have much fault to find with it? Would he not admit that, viewed as a large and simple outline, it was true enough for all practical purposes, and that it would be far more likely to convey a fine moral impression to the popular mind than a more detailed statement such as the science of to-day might put forth, only to be corrected, if not contradicted, by the science of a hundred, a thousand, or four or six thousand, years hence?¹

(10) The prime excellence of this Biblical document is not,

¹ In this ninth section I have been much indebted to some imperfect notes I took of a most admirable and comprehensive sermon preached by the late T. T. Lynch, some twenty or five-and-twenty years since.

however, its simplicity, nor its elasticity—giving scope to any discoveries that science may make—nor even its general accuracy when read historically and in a reasonable spirit; but its religious inspiration and motive. It sees, and teaches us to see, *God* in all things. It puts Him behind and before all things. And, moreover, it places all things under *our* feet, so redeeming us from that fear of the vast and irresistible forces of nature which led unemancipated man to worship and appease them, and teaching us to worship Him only who is the Maker and Ruler of them all. They are our ministers and subordinates, not our lords; we have no Lord but Him. In short, the Chapter contains the very charter of science, as well as the fundamental truth of religion. For so long as men *worshipped* nature they could not approach and study her in a scientific spirit, any more than they could worship Him who is a Spirit so long as He was veiled from them by the works of his hands.

Nor, in thus tracing all things to a spiritual origin, does Moses do more than science itself will warrant; for science has no simpler hypothesis to offer us, nor any half so reasonable; nay, by the lips of some of her most distinguished disciples, she frankly refuses to supply us with any hypothesis at all. Searching everywhere for the original cause of things, she is compelled to confess that she cannot find it in the things themselves; that, while the method or order of physical sequences is familiar to her, their cause is unknown. The origin of matter, the origin of force, the origin of life, the origin of thought are all, by her own confession, beyond her reach. Even though she call Evolution to her aid the problem is only pushed farther back. It is not solved. It is no whit nearer to a solution. It has to be handed over to reason and conscience after all.

And when we bend reason to the task of judging the solution of this standing problem which the Bible offers to

our faith, reason confirms, and rejoices to confirm, the Biblical theory of causation. For we ourselves, if we *have* bodies, *are* spirits; and therefore the conception of a Spiritual Cause of all that we behold cannot be alien to us. If it be, as it is, an elementary axiom of science, that the effect can contain nothing which was not in its cause, and can never be greater than its cause, then, as it is very certain that we find "spirit" in the great effect which we call the universe,—find it at least in ourselves and in one another,—we are plainly entitled to infer that there must be spirit in the Cause of this great effect. We hold, and are warranted in holding, that we must have derived our spirits from the original and creative Spirit; and that He must be inconceivably greater than we are, since we and all things proceed from Him. Moreover, as we know that our spirits, our wills, rule and control our physical frame, and even pass out beyond our personal limits to affect and transform the face of the earth, we argue, not without some show of logic surely, that the great original Spirit must be able to rule and affect at his will the great and universal frame which sprang into being at his command.

(11) Even when we go away from and beyond ourselves, and watch the play and movement of the physical world, seeking to interpret it honestly and according to our best skill, we still meet with phenomena which speak to us of a Spirit behind it and working up through it; in other words, we see nature herself straining up to God. For who can watch the face of nature, and study her history, without observing in every province of her domain the signs of an all-pervading intelligence, and struggles by which she seeks to free herself from the rigour of physical law, and to rise into a liberty which is the proper attribute of spirit? Matter itself is not purely materialistic, but is ever lifting itself up toward the spiritual, as it could hardly do were its Cause as material as itself. If in its lower provinces, for example, it

is everywhere and absolutely subject to the law of gravitation, yet even in that low stage in which we come on the phenomena of crystallization we observe a tendency to resist and shake off that subjection and to rise into forms and shape itself after an ideal impossible to it so long as it maintains an undivided obedience to this law ; forms which by naming them " ideal " we shew to have in them the suggestion of a Mind at work behind the material atoms. Vegetable life marks another advance ; for here so many forces operate, and the result is so complex, subtle, and wonderful, that we cannot but feel that at this point we enter on a much higher and freer mode of existence, and are brought into more immediate contact with a shaping and invisible Cause. Science may dissect the plant, name its parts, determine their functions ; but it cannot create the tiniest moss that grows upon a rock, or tell us by what mystic forces it was created or from whence those forces issued. In animal life we make yet another advance, a nearer approach to the intelligence, will, freedom, which are the proper attributes, not of matter, but of spirit. We reach the full diapason in man, finding in him a creature subject to natural laws and instincts indeed, but capable of controlling and modifying them in a thousand different ways ; able to subdue the earth, to bend all other creatures to his will, to study and formulate the laws by which the universe is governed, to rule his physical instincts and lusts in the service of reason and conscience, to deny himself and his natural selfishness that he may minister to others ; and, in a word, a creature capable of rising out of the necessities of mere physical law by obeying what St. James calls " the law of liberty," because it can only be freely obeyed.

Here, then,—whether by evolution or any other process matters not a jot,—we not only find spirit in man and confess it to be his supreme endowment, we also see that nature itself is so ordered and conditioned that it is for

ever mounting to higher forms and freer modes of existence; and that, in its advance toward this spiritual heritage of freedom, it is for ever suggesting an Intelligence, a Will, at work behind it, which is seeking to raise and redeem it into the liberty for which it yearns. If the effect cannot be greater than its cause, must not the Creator of the universe and the Maker of man be a Spirit? Has not Moses reason with him when he writes *God, God, God* across the heavens and over the whole earth? If science be a reasonable interpretation of the facts of nature, must not science herself confess, as she watches this wondrous ascent from bondage to freedom, from blank and blind subjection to intelligent and voluntary obedience, that a free intelligent Spirit is at work through the whole round of nature, and that its only adequate cause must be sought in God?

(12) But if we concede so much as this, can we refuse to concede far more? Whether or not Evolution be the last word and the master word of science, *we* are not bound to determine. Some of her eminent disciples affirm that the evolutionary theory has been logically demonstrated; while others, equally eminent, contend that as yet it is no more than a probable hypothesis. It is a question which they must be left to determine for themselves; though, however they may determine it, we shall continue to hold that the final word is far from having been pronounced, and expect to witness triumphs of scientific discovery in the future at least equal to its victories in the past. But that, however it may be named, there has been a long process of development in nature, a gradual ascent from lower to higher forms of life, and that this ascent culminates in man, no one denies or can reasonably deny. Why, then, should this process, which has occupied not only the centuries of human history, but also the long æons of the geological record, stop abruptly at the point which it has now reached? Is it not far more rational to believe that the process is still going on, the ascent still

culminating, the ladder still rising, however slowly and imperceptibly, and that in future ages and æons both man and nature will continue to develop into a perfection we cannot as yet conceive? But if that process is to go on, who does not perceive that, as hitherto the whole realm of nature has been pressing on and upward to produce the spirit of man, as in that spirit we have the highest consummation it has yet touched, so in that spirit we must look for the starting point of the new development? Here, in spirit, is the topmost point nature has reached; if it is to rise higher still, must it not start from this point? Must not that which is spiritual in nature unfold new energies, pervade and dominate that which is material more fully, and perchance transform it at last into its own quality and substance? May not that great word of the apostle, "first that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual," be truer after all than any hypothesis which science has formulated or any generalization which philosophy has framed?

(13) The method by which this development or advance has been effected is, we are told, that of differentiation and individualization; which means, I suppose, that when by some happy conjunction of outward conditions with inward organization a certain member of any species grows to be different from and to excel its fellows, this happy variation, this favoured individual of the species, becomes the source from which a new species springs, the type to which it conforms. The line of advance runs through these selected and favoured organisms. For years, perhaps for ages, a lower type of life has waited for the happy moment in which its most perfect and richly endowed form should appear; and then, when it appears, this perfected form constitutes a new point of departure, and the process of development starts on its upward way once more.

If, then, when nature has risen into man, that process is still to go on, and to go on by this same method of differentia-

tion, for what should we look? We should look, not for any abrupt rise in the whole level of human life, but for the selection of favoured individual forms, *i.e.* for elect men, who shall be raised by some happy conspiracy of outward conditions and inward organization, above the common level, into higher and ever higher forms of life, until at last the one Supreme Man is born in whom the whole laborious ascent is consummated, and from whom there may spring men of a higher species, of a type answering to his own.

This is what science herself teaches us to expect as we follow "the struggle of existence from dim nebulous beginnings" to ordered worlds, and from the lower forms of animate life up to the dawn of consciousness and the rich personal life of man. And what science has taught us to expect is precisely that which the Bible declares the great creative and redeeming Spirit to have done. For what, after all, is the story which the Bible has to tell but this; that when the common plane of humanity had been reached, by a process of natural selection, Abraham and his seed were differentiated from their fellows, elected to special favour, raised to a higher type, set apart to be a peculiar people of happier spiritual conditions than the other races of mankind; that from this selected and highly favoured stem, illustrated all along by the noblest types of human life, there broke at last the peerless and consummate flower of humanity, a Man so perfect as to present a new and higher type of manhood; and that from Him, the perfect Son of Man, there has sprung and is ever springing a new and higher order of men, spiritual rather than natural men, born from above as well as from below, one with Him already, but ever—on both sides of the gate of death—pressing on to a closer likeness, a fuller participation of his Divine life; so that the very Apostle who declared the divine order to be "first that which is natural and afterward that which is spiritual" also affirms the first

man to have been of the earth earthy, while the second man is the Lord from heaven ?

In fine, Science and the Bible are at one, and will be seen to be at one whenever scientific men learn to treat the Bible fairly, and religious men learn to deal fairly with the discoveries of Science. They both proclaim a spiritual Cause of the world, and a spiritual End for it. They both affirm that nature is from Spirit, by Spirit, for Spirit. They both teach that as all things come from God, so also things tend to God and will reach their true goal and perfection as they return to and rest in Him, the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End.

ALMONI PELONI.

THE SOURCES OF ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.

III. THE BOOK OF WISDOM.

THE history of the Book of Wisdom is involved in considerable obscurity, and very little can be laid down with any degree of certainty as to its authorship and date beyond the fact that it comes from the pen of an Alexandrian Jew shortly before the Christian era. Various names have been suggested, including those of Apollos and Philo. But the balance of evidence seems to be decisive in favour of an earlier date than that which either of these two names would give, and the coincidences with the Epistle to the Hebrews (which is also assigned to Apollos) have been decidedly exaggerated. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to quote Dr. Westcott's conclusion in his article on the Book in question in the "Dictionary of the Bible":

"It seems most reasonable . . . to believe that it was

composed at Alexandria some time before the time of Philo (circa 120–80 B.C.). This opinion in the main, though the conjectural date varies from 150–50 B.C., or even beyond these limits, is held by Heydenrich, Gfrörer, Bauermeister, Ewald, Bruch, and Grimm.”¹

But, whatever be the date of the composition of the Book, one thing is clear to my mind, that it was well known to St. Paul and his companions. Without claiming for the Epistle of Clement of Rome the authority of St. Paul's fellow-labourer, “whose name is in the book of life” (Phil. iv. 3), it is certain from internal evidence that the Epistle is the work of one who was thoroughly imbued with the teaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and acquainted with his style and writings; and tradition is strong and persistent in connecting the name of the author with St. Paul. The Epistle to the Hebrews also is confessedly *Pauline*, even if we are compelled to reject the view that it actually comes from St. Paul's own hand. Here then we have two books written almost certainly by companions of the Apostle, both of which contain clear and definite references to the Book of Wisdom;² and the purpose of the present paper is to establish the fact (which does not seem to be sufficiently recognized) that there are no less clear and definite references to the same Book in the writings of St. Paul himself, and that it furnished him with some of the most remarkable illustrations and ideas to be found in his Epistles.

Those passages shall first be examined in which the similarity of thought is so strongly marked as to raise a conviction that the one writer was dependent upon the other. A few others shall then be added, to which I could

¹ “Dictionary of the Bible,” vol. iii. p. 1782.

² The coincidences will be found drawn out in full in Vol. I. of the *EXPOSITOR* (First Series), p. 329 *seq.*, to which it will be sufficient to refer, although I am quite unable to accept the writer's inference that in the one case the coincidences imply identity of authorship.

hardly appeal with the same degree of confidence were it not that a study of the first list had satisfied me that St. Paul was familiarly acquainted with the Book of Wisdom. If that is once accepted as a certain fact, it will be natural to see in the passages collected together in the second list a reflection of the teaching of the earlier Book.

I. (1) Romans ix. 19-21. "Thou wilt say (*ἐρεῖς*) then unto me, Why doth he still find fault? For who withstandeth his will (*τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκε*;)? Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why didst thou make me thus (*τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως*;)? Or hath not the potter (*ὁ κεραμεὺς*) a right over the clay, from the same lump (*ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φύράματος*) to make one part a vessel (*σκεῦος*) unto honour, and another unto dishonour?"

Some expressions in these verses are supposed to be drawn from Isaiah xxix. 16, xlv. 9; and Jeremiah xviii. 6. (See Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, *in loc.*) But far more striking is the resemblance between St. Paul's words and the following passage from the Book of Wisdom (chap. xv. 7): "The potter (*κεραμεὺς*), tempering soft earth, fashioneth every vessel with much labour for our service; yea, of the same clay (*ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ*) he maketh both the vessels (*σκεύη*) that serve for clean uses, and likewise also all such as serve to the contrary: but what is the use of either sort the potter himself is the judge." With verses 19 and 20 of St. Paul we should also compare Wisdom xii. 12: "For who shall say (*ἐρεῖ*), What hast thou done (*τί ἐποίησας*), or who shall withstand thy judgment (*τίς ἀντιστήσεται τῷ κρίματί σου*;)?" Nor should we overlook the fact that the thought of the following verses in the Epistle (verses 22-25) finds a parallel in Wisdom xii. 20.

I would not lay too much stress on this last coincidence; but it appears to me nothing short of a moral certainty

that the illustration of the potter and his work was suggested to St. Paul by the Book of Wisdom, even more than by those of Isaiah and Jeremiah, to which commentators in general refer us.

(2) Ephesians vi. 13-17: "Take up the whole armour of God (*ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*), that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand, therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness (*ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης*), and having shod your feet with the preparation of the gospel of peace; withal taking up the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the evil one. And take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Much of this magnificent passage is due to a reminiscence of words and phrases from various chapters of the prophet Isaiah (see Isaiah xi. 4, 5; xl. 3, 9; xlix. 2; li. 16; lii. 7; lix. 17). But at a still earlier date these very passages suggested a similar elaboration of the figure in the Book of Wisdom; and there can be little doubt that a recollection of this, blended with the passages of Isaiah, served to colour the Apostle's thought and mould his phraseology. Wisdom v. 17-20: "He shall take to him his jealousy for complete armour (*λήψεται πανοπλίαν*), and make the creature his weapon for the revenge of his enemies. He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate (*ἐνδύσεται θώρακα δικαιοσύνης*),¹ and true judgment instead of an helmet. He shall take holiness for an invincible shield. His severe wrath shall he sharpen for a sword, and the world shall fight with him against the unwise."

Is it not highly probable that this description was in St. Paul's mind when he wrote the passage quoted above,

¹ The reader will not fail to note that this is closer to the Apostle's *ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης* than is the primary passage in Isaiah lix. 17, *ἐνεδύσατο δικαιοσύνην ὡς θώρακα*.

and that at any rate it was the source of the opening words, "Take up the whole armour of God,"¹ an expression to which no parallel is forthcoming in any of the passages from the prophet Isaiah?

(3) The first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans supplies us with some very remarkable coincidences with the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the Book of Wisdom.

Romans i. 18-23: "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold down the truth in unrighteousness; because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God manifested it unto them. For the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity; that they may be without excuse: because that, knowing God, they glorified Him not as God, neither gave thanks; but became vain (*ἐματαιώθησαν*) in their reasonings, and their senseless heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things."

Wisdom xiii. 1-10. "Surely vain (*μάταιοι*) are all men by nature, who are ignorant of God, and could not out of the good things that are seen know Him that is: neither by considering the works did they acknowledge the Workmaster. . . . By the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the Maker of them is seen. But yet for this they are the less to be blamed, for they peradventure err, seeking God and desirous to find Him. For being conversant in His works they search Him diligently and believe their sight, because the things are

¹ The word *πανοπλία* is used nowhere by St. Paul except in this passage. It is also a rare one in the LXX.

beautiful that are seen. Howbeit neither are they to be pardoned. For if they were able to know so much, that they could aim at the world, how did they not sooner find out the Lord thereof? But miserable are they, and in dead things is their hope, who called them gods which are the works of men's hands, gold and silver, to shew art in, and resemblances of beasts, or a stone, good for nothing, the work of an ancient hand." It will be noticed that although the verbal coincidences are very slight, yet the *ideas* of the two passages are precisely similar. (a) The natural theology is the same in both. (b) The *inexcusable* character of the error of the Gentiles is dwelt upon by each writer. (c) The references to idolatry are also common to both. And the conclusion that St. Paul's thoughts are here influenced by a recollection of the Book of Wisdom is confirmed, when we discover that (d) the fearful catalogue of the sins of heathenism given as a consequence of idolatry in Romans i. 24-32 bears a strong resemblance to that which appears in the same connection in Wisdom xiv. 21-27. The passages are too long for quotation here. I can only ask my readers to compare them together for themselves, and I am convinced that they will be surprised by the likeness between the two.

(4) In Romans iii. 25 we find a most unusual expression, to which the Authorized Version failed to do justice, but which is rendered in the Revised Version "*the passing over of sins done aforetime.*" The word is *πάρεσις*, which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, and the teaching of the whole passage appears to be this:—"There needed a signal manifestation of the righteousness of God, on account of the long *prætermision* or passing over of sins, in his infinite forbearance, with no adequate expression of his wrath against them, during all those long years which preceded the coming of Christ; which manifestation of God's righteousness found place when He set forth

no other and no less than his own Son to be the propitiatory sacrifice for sin."¹ This doctrine of the *πάρεσις*, the "passing over" of sins before the incarnation, is a remarkable one. Something like it is found in two other passages of the New Testament, to be considered shortly. But, for the present, we must notice that it appears (and, so far as I know, for the first time) in the Book of Wisdom (chap. xi. 23): "Thou hast mercy upon all" (*ἐλεεῖς δὲ πάντας*. Comp. Romans xi. 32, *ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσῃ*), "for Thou canst do all things, and winkest at (*παρορᾷς*) the sins of men, that they should amend." Comp. xii. 20, where we should probably read, "Thou didst punish the enemies of thy children with such deliberation and indulgence,"² giving them time and place whereby they might be delivered from their malice."

(5) Acts xvii. gives a report of St. Paul's speech at Athens. It is contained in a very few verses (22-31). But within the compass of those ten verses we find no less than three thoughts which we have already seen in the passages that have been quoted from the Book of Wisdom. (a) The nations made "that they should seek God (*ζητεῖν τὸν Θεόν*), if haply they might feel after Him and find Him" (*εὕροιν*). Cf. Wisdom xiii. 6. "They peradventure err, seeking God, and desirous to find Him (*Θεὸν ζητοῦντες καὶ θέλοντες εὕρεῖν*). (b) "We ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto *gold* or *silver* or *stone*, graven by *art* and device of men." Cf. Wisdom xiii. 10: "Miserable are they and in dead things is their hope, who called them gods, which are the work of men's hands, *gold* and *silver*, to shew *art* in, and resemblances of beasts, or a *stone*, good for nothing, the work of an ancient hand." (c) "The times of this ignorance God overlooked

¹ Trrench's "Synonyms of the New Testament," p. 14.

² καὶ διέσωσεν. So N. See Deane's "Commentary on the Book of Wisdom," p. 178.

(ὑπερίδων), but now commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent" (μετανοεῖν). Here then appears for the second time the doctrine of the *πάρεσις*, and therefore compare Wisdom xi. 23: "Thou . . . winkest at (*παρόρῳς*) the sins of men, that they should amend" (*εἰς μετάνοιαν*).

(6) The third passage in the New Testament where this idea is found is Acts xiv. 16, St. Paul's speech at Lystra, where we read that God "in the generations gone by suffered all the nations to walk in their own way." And here it is closely connected with the thought that God "left not Himself without witness," nature and natural forces being appealed to, just as in the Book of Wisdom (xiii. 5 *seq.*), as bearing their testimony to God. We seem therefore to be justified in adding this passage to our list of those which shew traces of a knowledge of the earlier work on the part of the Apostle. And these similarities between St. Paul's speeches in the Acts of the Apostles and the Book of Wisdom have a special importance of their own, because they may serve to supply us with an indirect evidence of the genuineness of those speeches. There seems to be convincing proof from the Epistles of St. Paul's familiarity with the Book in question; and when we find that his recorded speeches evince an acquaintance with the same writing we cannot help being struck with the coincidence. It is too slight, and we may add too natural, to be due to the art of a forger compiling fictitious speeches in the name of the Apostle. And as the Book of Wisdom is one to which there are scarcely any allusions in the New Testament beyond those in the Pauline Epistles, the fact just noticed may fairly claim to rank as an "undesigned coincidence" of no small value.

No less than six passages have now been examined, in which thoughts and illustrations found in the Book of Wisdom reappear in St. Paul's writings and speeches.

These thoughts and illustrations are not common ones. In some cases it is true their ultimate source is seen to be the prophetic books of the Old Testament. But then they have been enlarged and elaborated by the Alexandrian Jew, writing with them before him. And the fact that ideas and expressions which he has been the first to introduce are also found in those passages of St. Paul's writings which have been quoted goes far to demonstrate that (whether consciously or unconsciously) the Apostle's thoughts were to a considerable extent influenced by a reminiscence of his work. The parallelisms are too clear and too numerous to be entirely due to chance. It is, to say the least, unlikely that two writers, working independently of each other, would have elaborated the figure of the potter in so similar a manner; and the unlikelihood is largely increased when we find that precisely the same kind of elaboration has taken place with a second figure, viz. that of the armour of God. These two instances, when fairly considered, seem sufficient to convince us that St. Paul had studied the Book of Wisdom; and if so, we are surely justified in tracing the influence of the same work in the other passages that have been examined, in which also the resemblances are close and the thoughts identical.

II. Nor is the list of parallelisms fully completed yet. In a few minor instances there is a close verbal similarity between St. Paul's writings and the Book of Wisdom. These passages are so short that, if they stood alone, they would perhaps be insufficient to prove acquaintance with the earlier writer on the part of the later. But, as has been already remarked, if such acquaintance is admitted, it is only natural to suppose that these minor coincidences imply dependence, and are more or less unconscious reminiscences of passages in the earlier work.

(1) Romans v. 12. "Through one man sin *entered into*

the world (εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθεν), and death (ὁ θάνατος) through sin."

The form of expression here used recalls nothing in the Book of Genesis, but is almost identical with that found in Wisdom ii. 24, "through envy of the devil *came death into the world*" (θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον). And this may therefore be set down as its source.

(2) Again, the words of 1 Corinthians vi. 2, "Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?" (οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσι;) contain a thought which is also found in Wisdom iii. 8, where it is said of the righteous that "in the time of their visitation" they "shall judge the nations (κρινούσιν ἔθνη) and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever."

(Here however it must be admitted that it is equally probable that Daniel vii. 22 is the origin of both passages alike.)

(3) Once more, in 2 Corinthians v. 1-4 we are irresistibly reminded of Wisdom ix. 15. The passages are as follows:

Wisdom. "The corruptible body presseth down (βαρύνει) the soul, and the earthly tabernacle (τὸ γεώδες σκῆνος) weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things."

Corinthians. "For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle (ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκηνους) be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For verily in this we groan, longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven; if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For indeed we that are in this tabernacle (ἐν τῷ σκηνεῖ) do groan, being burdened (βαρούμενοι); not for that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life."

In comparing these two passages together, it is most instructive to observe how St. Paul, while adopting some

of his language, advances far beyond the position of the earlier writer in teaching that, in the resurrection, the spirit will not be "naked" but will be "clothed upon," clearly with the "spiritual body" of 1 Corinthians xv.; this doctrine of the resurrection of the body being one of which the Book of Wisdom not only does not contain the slightest trace, but for which (as Canon Westcott says) it "leaves no room by the general tenor of its teaching."¹

Lastly, it deserves to be noticed that a considerable number of words—and some of them *very* unusual ones—are common to the Epistles of St. Paul in the New Testament and the Book of Wisdom in the Septuagint; and, as will be seen from the following references, many of them are peculiar to these two among Biblical writers: *ἀθανασία* (Wisdom iii. 4; iv. 1; viii. 13, 17; xv. 3. 1 Corinthians xv. 53, 54; 1 Timothy vi. 16; nowhere else in New Testament or LXX.) *ἀναξικακία* (Wisdom ii. 19; nowhere else in LXX. Compare 2 Timothy ii. 24, *ἀνεξίκακος*, nowhere else in New Testament). *ἀνυπόκριτος*, "apud profanos non exstat," Grimm (Wisdom v. 19; xviii. 16; nowhere else in the LXX. Romans xii. 9; 2 Corinthians vi. 6; 1 Timothy i. 5; 2 Timothy i. 5). *ἀπλότης καρδίας* (Wisdom i. 1. Ephesians vi. 5; Colossians iii. 22; nowhere else in the New Testament. In the LXX. only in 1 Chronicles xxix. 17). *ἀπότομος* (Wisdom v. 20; vi. 5; xi. 10. Nowhere else in LXX. Cf. *ἀποτομία*, Romans xi. 22, and *ἀποτόμως*, 2 Corinthians xiii. 10; Titus i. 13). *ἀφθαρσία* (Wisdom ii. 23; vi. 19. Romans ii. 7; 1 Corinthians xv. 42 *seq.*; Ephesians vi. 24; 2 Timothy i. 10; Titus ii. 7. Nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament). *εἰκόν* (in Wisdom vii. 26 the Divine Wisdom is spoken of as the image (*εἰκόν*) of God's goodness; so in 2 Corinthians iii. 18 and Colossians i. 15 St. Paul calls Christ the image (*εἰκόν*) of God). *ἐπιτιμία*, meaning *punishment*,

¹ "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. iii. p. 1783.

"Græcis τὸ ἐπιτίμιον," Grimm (Wisdom iii. 10. 2 Corinthians ii. 6; nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament). *θειότης* (Wisdom xviii. 6. Romans i. 20; nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament). *καταλαλία*, "apud Græcos non habetur," Grimm (Wisdom i. 11; nowhere else in LXX. 2 Corinthians xii. 20, and cf. *κατάλαλος*, found only in Romans i. 30). *κενοδοξία* (Wisdom xiv. 4. Philippians ii. 3; nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament). *προσαναπληρώω* (Wisdom xix. 4. 2 Corinthians ix. 12; xi. 9; nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament). *σέβασμα* (Wisdom xiv. 20; xv. 17. Acts xvii. 23 in a speech of St. Paul's; 2 Thessalonians ii. 4; nowhere else in New Testament, in LXX. elsewhere only in Bel, verse 27). *φιλόγαθος* (Wisdom vii. 22. Titus i. 8; nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament).

It is believed that a careful study of this list will serve to confirm the conclusion which we have already seen to be highly probable, that the Apostle's *phraseology* as well as his *thought* was influenced in no small degree by the study of the Book of Wisdom.

One reflection may be made in conclusion. If it is satisfactorily established that St. Paul was thus familiar with this Book, and drew thoughts and illustrations from it, it cannot be an accident *that he nowhere appeals to it directly as an authority*. Had he placed it on a level with the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Covenant, he would surely have thus appealed to it, as he did to them, to prove and establish his teaching. That he never once does this may be taken as an indication of the position which he assigned to it. He admired it and used it; he suffered it to influence his thoughts and his language. But he did not reckon it as one of those "oracles of God" which were committed to the custody of Israel, and regarded by every Jew as the ultimate appeal in matters of controversy.

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

*HOREB : OR, THE PLACE OF THE HEBREW
DECALOGUE IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.*

So many of those who have "touched" this mountain in modern times have in an ecclesiastical sense either been "stoned," or "thrust through with a dart," that it is not without a certain degree of trepidation the present venture is made. After many sad experiences the Church is not unnaturally jealous of any rash speculation in, or reckless meddling with, its fundamental principles. If the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do? The first tablets were broken in a moment of passion by the great Hebrew lawgiver himself; and ever since their restoration the priceless relics have been laid up in the ark, and guarded with ceaseless vigilance by the archons of the Sanctuary. That the Decalogue should be critically examined at all has been thought by some not a little presumptuous: why should Divine finger-work be subjected to human scrutiny? That any place but the first and chiefest should be assigned to it has been regarded by others as indisputable: has it not been accepted by the entire Christian world as the Divine basis of all spiritual instruction? And does not our Lord Himself refer to it as a heaven-erected finger-post to those who sought in his day to enter into life?¹ Besides, is it not the fact that many of those who have essayed impartial investigation of this subject have been led to reject its claim to paramount and permanent obligation? to deny, as "The Brethren" do, *e.g.*,² that the Gentile Churches have ever been in subjection to it? or, finally, have been influenced by the desire to accommodate its place and character to their sabbatic or anti-sabbatic theories and customs? For these and other reasons the Church has ever insisted that

¹ Mark x. 19.

² "C. H. M. on Deuteronomy."

the ark and its contents should, if touched at all, be handled with reverence, and that the hands of its priesthood should be clean when the vessels of the Lord are brought forth. At the same time, if it may not unreasonably be questioned whether the custodians of the ark and its tablets are themselves in agreement as to its present place in the Church; whether the daily reading and teaching of the Commandments is not now becoming almost obsolete in our congregations; whether the feeling that the greater light of the Gospel has supplanted the dim twilight of the Mosaic dispensation is not Scripturally justifiable; whether the sayings of "the men of old time" have not been modified, extended, and elevated by the "But I say unto you" of Christ; in short, whether the Hebrew compendium of the moral law, as it used to be regarded, has not been swept away with the ancient economy: if these questions are neither unreasonable nor unpractical, then our inquiry as to the place of the Hebrew Decalogue in the Christian Church is not without its Scriptural warrant and justification: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."¹

It will greatly assist us in coming to a right conclusion as to the place of the Hebrew Decalogue in the Christian Church, if we carefully keep in mind from the outset the nature, character, and objects of the moral law itself. As written with Divine finger upon the fleshly tables of the hearts of our progenitors in a state of innocence, it was designed to be a Divine rule of *outward conduct* for every branch of the human family and for all lands and ages. It was meant to establish and regulate certain dutiful forms, customs,² habits mental and physical—*mores*—in conformity with Divine truth otherwise revealed. In the immediate presence of the Supernatural and Divine there is little need of written legislation as to the mode of our conduct and

¹ Thessalonians v. 21.

² "Shall change the customs, τὰ ἔθνη, which Moses commanded." Acts vi. 14.

worship. Instinctively the head is bent, the shoes are taken off, the entire frame assumes an attitude of attention, submission, reverence, and godly fear. When the interview ceases, there is but one thought, or impulse, in the mind; and that is to hurry off and obey the Divine command. When, however, this sense of the Divine Presence has been lost, it becomes necessary to insist upon those forms¹ and acts of worship at first spontaneously produced, because God is present although no longer visible, and his commission to us must be executed although his voice is no longer audible. When God presented Eve to her husband in Paradise, Adam required no written code of manners to teach him how to receive and treat her; she was God's gift to him, his helpmeet, and he felt constrained to love her as himself. But when the Divine hand which "gave her away" was no longer visible to fallen eyes, and the Divine love in the gift was forgotten by a fallen race, it became necessary to put into words and enforce what had otherwise been the spontaneous response of the creature to the will of the Creator. Again, when God rested from his works, and sought brief but delightful intercourse with his newly created human children, it was a natural impulse which led them to give up their work to meet and walk with Him. But with the rise and development of worldliness and selfishness in the heart, the day of sacred privilege had to be fenced round with the command: "Thou shalt do no manner of work therein." It will thus be seen by what process the originally plastic forms of worship, service, and obedience, became fixed and stereotyped, even to restraint and bondage, under the altered conditions of humanity. Like a hermit's prayer-cell in the rock, suggesting to all who enter it the duty, and constraining them to assume the posture, for the time being, of the kneeling suppliant,

¹ The use of the word "form" need not be a stumbling block to those who recall the import of such terms as "Uniformity" and "Noneonformity."

the moral law became a schoolmaster to bring fallen and degenerate man, by means of sacred forms, suggestive rites, and outward observances, with the aid, of course, of that Spirit who quickens the dead, back to God in Christ, a reconciled God and Father. Some writers of fiction¹ have pictured the seeker after hidden treasures as having been directed to place themselves in a chair-formed rock in a mountain crag, whence, and whence only, the place of the treasure could be descried; and, after a fashion analogous to this, the written law directs its votaries to comply with certain injunctions, to assume certain positions, to perform certain rites and ceremonies, that in the act of their compliance they may catch a glimpse of Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Those who climbed in the spirit of faithful Abraham, for instance, the hill of Moriah, where stood the temple, and offered with him the sacrifice which represented their nearest and dearest, saw, with the patriarch, Christ's day afar off, and were gladdened by the prospect. In the act of obedience, God reveals his purpose: "In the mount of Jehovah it shall be seen."² Those who allowed themselves to be sprinkled with blood at the altar, to be washed with clean water at the laver, and thereafter drew near the spot whence the Shechinah glory was seen shimmering through the vail, were being prepared for the hour when they could "draw nigh to God in the full assurance of faith, having their hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and their bodies laved with pure water." The law maintained the channels and river-beds of outward temple-service in their integrity until they were filled at Pentecost with that vital torrent, "the streams whereof make glad the city of God."

A distinction has often been drawn, not always with clearness, between the moral and ceremonial laws of Scrip-

¹ Edgar Poe, *e.g.*

² Gen. xxii. 14.

ture. Wherein lies the difference? The entire Mosaic law is theocratic in its origin, character, and design. The laws relating to the elaborate ceremonial of the temple, or the tabernacle, were as purely ethical in their scope—*i.e.*, professed the same consciousness of obligation, or duty, towards God, and through Him, to man—as those which dealt with person, life, and property. Nor was it the case, as we shall have occasion to shew immediately, that the one was common to all nations, whilst the other was confined to the Hebrews. No doubt some parts of the law were meant to be transitory; others, transitional; and the rest, permanent. The Mosaic economy may be compared to a garden on which the summer sun had yet to rise. Here were spring flowers, fair and fragrant while they lasted, but temporary; such were the types and emblematic observances of the tabernacle. There stood some hardier plants and annuals safe to hold their ground at all events till the autumn; such were the sacraments of circumcision and the passover. While yonder against the walls of the sanctuary grew the fruit trees from Paradise, proof against the storms of ages; on whose stems have been engrafted better branches than their own, whose blossom was for fragrance, whose fruit was for nourishment, and whose leaves were for the healing of the nations; such were its moral precepts, its Sabbath-keeping, and its everlasting priesthood of Righteousness. But even the sanatory, civil, and political enactments of the law formed part of the morality of Judaism; for they also derived their authority from, and were uttered in the name of, Jehovah.

Another feature in the history of these moral precepts may fitly be considered here. The Tôrâh was gradually unfolded. Although the Mosaic code of morals was delivered on Mount Sinai to Israel in its mature and completed form, its several enactments were much older than the Exodus, and some of them as old as humanity itself.

At sundry times and in divers manners they had been spoken by the Divine voice of Inspiration to the fathers in order to check the corruption and meet the exigencies of the hour. As the articles of a Church's Confession are each a settlement, or authoritative decision of its supreme council, or assembly, upon some great controversy of the age, although compiled, condensed, and classified for modern convenience, and those who sign them at ordination are supposed to declare in effect that, had they lived in those days and taken part in the struggle, they would in all the circumstances of the case have voted with the majority; so the various requirements of which the Mosaic law consists had their origin in successive attempts to stem the current of iniquity in the past, to meet by Divine intervention and rebuke the evils and heresies of the age as they arose, although Divinely summarized at Horeb for the guidance and instruction of Israel, who subscribed them in a formula for ever memorable: "All that Jehovah hath spoken, we will do." This gradual unfolding of the moral law to the covenant seed of Adam and Noah, will, in some degree, explain the otherwise startling fact, now indisputably established, that all ancient nations possessed it in whole or in part, independently of the Hebrews, and indeed before Israel as a nation existed. There seems little reason to doubt that the ritual and worship of such men as Job, Melchizedek, Jethro, and others, was the primeval stock out of which all the religions and moralities (including the Hebrew forms) grew.

Finally, we must keep in view the special and peculiar circumstances which called for and occasioned what may be termed, I trust, without irreverence, the inspired *Hebrew Edition* of the moral law. The leading principles and maxims of morality, not to say of the worship of JAHVE,¹ had already been acknowledged, and were more or less in

¹ "Arkite Worship," p. 91.

general practice among other nations when the Hebrew tribes received their written code of ethics at Horeb. In several important respects many Gentile countries were far in advance of Israel in morality as well as culture. Even their oppressors, the Egyptians, were monogamists,¹ as were likewise the entire Japhetic race, while the sons of Jacob, including such men as David and Solomon, were steeped in the vice of polygamy and concubinage. When, therefore, after four hundred years of demoralizing bondage and oppression, they escaped by miraculous intervention rather than patriotic effort, from Egypt into the fastnesses and solitudes of the Sinaitic desert, they presented a spectacle of moral degradation and ignorance hardly to be distinguished from that of the grossest idolaters.² It was clearly necessary that there should be a *tabula rasa* of heart and life, where every old and evil custom should be written off in order that new and better habits might take their place.³ "Thou shalt not" was a preliminary step in their moral education towards "Thou shalt." A code of moral precepts, chiefly of a negative and prohibitive character in the first instance, divinely clear and simple, appealing directly to the conscience, or natural sense of truth and justice, carefully adapted to the almost infant condition of the tribes, and issued and enforced by the direct authority of Jehovah Himself,—this was what the state of the case imperatively demanded if Israel was ever to become "an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession."⁴

We are now, I think, in a position to consider the place of THE TEN WORDS, or the Hebrew Decalogue, in the Christian Church. The Mosaic Tablets occupied a significant and symbolical position in the innermost court of the

¹ Herodotus.

² Exod. xxxii.

³ "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation" (chap. iv.).

⁴ 1 Pet. ii. 9 (Revised Version).

tabernacle. They were laid up, with Aaron's budding rod, which betokened the resurrection, and the golden pot which had the manna, the emblem of life, in the ark of the testimony, which formed the footstool of the Mercy-seat. Morality lies at the root and constitutes the basis of all practical religion. Where there is no consciousness of duty to God, and through Him to our brother man, no sense of right and wrong, truth or falsehood, there is nothing within the soul to which any Gospel appeal can be made, nor anything to which the claims of Religion, or the truth of Christianity, can be attached.

One object, therefore, of a written decalogue laid up in the ark was plainly to localize or concentrate all sacred forms and customs into one supreme attitude of submission and obedience at Jehovah's footstool. All forms of morality lead to the Mercy-seat. To that central point they all converge. Hitherto they come, and no further. Where the law ends, the gospel begins. To the waiting penitent at the tribunal the Father reveals Himself in his Son, as a just God and Saviour. Horeb was the scene of a mystic tabernacle, "the pattern" shewn to Moses of the Church in the wilderness. It will thus be seen that the Church is more comprehensive than many of its high dignitaries and narrow sectaries seem to imagine. It throws its shadow over all forms that bend before the Mercy-seat. It hallows the duty of every human relationship. The ethics of the hearth and home, of the factory and warehouse, of the palace and the cottage, of politics, literature, science, and art, have a place within its pale. "The kings of the earth bring their glory and honour into it."¹ Its Lord compares it to the gigantic mustard-tree, in whose spreading branches the birds of the air find shelter and rest.

Another object of a written decalogue laid up in the ark

¹ Rev. xxi. 24.

at the foot of the Mercy-seat was obviously to reduce the otherwise vaguely conceived principles of moral duty to visible shape and practical utility, so as to make it a *basis of judgment* against flagrant offenders. It formed a book of reference for the tribunal of the conscience. "By the law was the knowledge of sin."¹ Consistency occupies a place in ethical science analogous to that which it holds in logic or metaphysics. If the "law of non-contradiction" be an unsatisfactory test of positive truth, it is at all events a true safeguard against error. And that Israel might have a simple and yet effective means of testing this consistency of conduct on the part of those who had professed to accept Jehovah as their covenant God and theocratic King, a sharp-cutting weapon for self-conviction and public judgment always at hand, a strict and severe "schoolmaster" to educate the public conscience in discriminating between truth and falsehood, moral good and evil, against the day when "God's Truth and the Devil's Lie"² would be presented for choice, these "Ten Words" were written by the Judge of all the earth, and significantly laid up at the footstool of his throne.

It has been said that "The Ten Words" are a divinely prepared "Summary," briefly comprehending the entire moral law.³ And such in a certain sense they are. They imply or comprehend the entire system of ethics as the Notes of a commentator imply and include the meaning and spirit of the classic text he is editing; or as the Epistle to the Hebrews briefly comprehends the whole Levitical system of the Old Testament which it explains and applies. It has been further summarized in the words of Christ: "Thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself." More briefly still it has been

¹ Rom. iii. 20.

² "Sartor Resartus," chap. vii.

³ Confession of Faith.

expressed by St. Paul "*in one word: LOVE.*"¹ But the Hebrew Decalogue, carefully examined, is rather a *supplement* than a summary, although the former includes the latter. With the development of sin, the rise of idolatry and every form of selfishness and violence in the world, and their corresponding effect in blinding the conscience and blunting the moral faculties of our nature, the moral law of Eden required supplementing to meet the new necessities of the case. The Divine text required an equally Divine commentation, and that on every chapter. This distinction between the Hebrew Decalogue regarded as a comprehensive supplement and a summary is far from being unimportant. It is not the moral law as comprehended in the Decalogue which alone is binding upon us, but the moral law *and* the Decalogue. We can conceive it possible, *e.g.*, for the rich young ruler who came to Christ asking, "What good thing shall I do to inherit eternal life?"² to have been sincere in his conviction that he had "*kept all these commandments*" from his youth up; *i.e.*, he had literally observed all the requirements of the Decalogue, (indeed the Saviour seems to accept his answer,³ and "beholding him loved him,") and yet to have grossly failed in his duty—his moral duty—towards God and man. The Jews were quick enough to note this. The Law formally required them to love their neighbour; and they added that it was still permissible for them to hate an enemy. Their notorious case of "Corban" was another instance of evasion.⁴ Their practice of polygamy was somehow explained as not inconsistent with the seventh commandment. And the Pharisees were persistent violators of the spirit of the Sabbath, while they scrupulously observed its letter. These and other instances are sufficient to shew that the

¹ ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ Ἀγαπήσεις. Gal. v. 4.

² Luke xviii. 21.

³ Mark x. 21.

⁴ Mark vii. 11.

nature and object of the "Ten Words" were those of supplement and inference, rather than of summary or abridgement. This will appear more clearly in the following brief analysis :

I. "*I am Jehovah* : " To have any other gods "before me" is therefore to commit immorality, to debauch the conscience, to act in glaring inconsistency with your first profession of obedience. "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." This enactment appeals to the conscience and common sense of mankind. "Come and let us reason together." There cannot be two or more supreme Divinities, much less two opposite or contending Objects of worship.

II. "*I am Jehovah* : " Therefore to invent arbitrary and capricious representations of God, or to think of Him "as altogether such an one as ourselves," is to do violence to our natural sense of what is right and true and dutiful. Christ is the only image of the Invisible God, the only adequate and perfect representation of the Deity. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." Is it right, then, for a Church professedly Christian to have images of Christ? or to think of Him henceforth after the flesh? To make a god to suit ourselves is wilful self-deception and deliberate wickedness.

III. "*I am Jehovah* : " To profess reverence for God's name and yet refuse to submit to his authority is, therefore, another act of immorality and sin. Hypocritical worship is an offence in the eyes both of God and man.

IV. "*I am Jehovah* : " As God had rested from his creative work that He might come and hold spiritual fellowship with his human children, it became a moral necessity for them to suspend their secular employment that they might solemnly assemble and keep the tryst with Him. Abstinence from labour or physical recreation was not in itself a moral or sacred act, but it was an indispensable

condition of undistracted worship. It was idle and false to profess to serve God with all the heart and soul and strength and mind at the time and place appointed, while mind and body were otherwise occupied with worldly thoughts and unspiritual vocations. No earthly king would be satisfied on a reception day with such divided homage. Both time and place of sacred worship had therefore to be fenced in, and fenced round, from distracting and disturbing influences. We must *be still* to know that He is God. And such protecting fence-work the Fourth Commandment is intended to supply. It neither institutes nor defines "the Sabbath," but simply marks off and hallows *the time* of its enjoyment: "Remember the Sabbath *day* to keep it holy." At stated times, at regular intervals, and Divinely-appointed places, Jehovah had promised to come down and meet with his people and rest with them in sacred fellowship and soul-communion; and these times and places were hallowed and set apart for the purposes of this worship: "The place which He had chosen to put his name there" had not yet been revealed, nor did the sanctuary exist when the law was delivered on Sinai: "Thou shalt reverence my sanctuary" would not then have been understood; but the sacred trysting-time had been known from the beginning, and the day for its observance was carefully to be remembered. But the day is not the Sabbath, only the time set apart for its enjoyment. What that spiritual rest is into which believers enter here, and enjoy eternally hereafter, cannot be learned from this Commandment. We are only warned as to what is inconsistent with its spiritual observance. Endless and useless controversies in the Church have been the result of ignoring this distinction. Multitudes have mistaken the means for the end. Even in our Lord's time the day itself, apart from its sacred uses, had come to be regarded with superstitious reverence, as if there was something intrinsically

sacred in the interval between its sunrise and sunset which man had been created to respect. But the day was made for man to enjoy his Creator's favour and friendship in, and not man for the day. And how many myriads of our intelligent fellow Christians awake on the Sabbath morning with a feeling of solemn awe inspired by the thought that "the day" has come, while oblivious of the arrival of the Sabbath's Lord! The spiritual rest in the enjoyment of the Divine presence and favour is the true Sabbath keeping—"the rest," *σαββατισμὸς*, "which remaineth for the people of God."¹ To these observations on the nature and scope of this Commandment it only remains to be added: That the argument from the Divine example, from Scripture, conscience, and common sense, for marking off, or hallowing, the day of public and private worship from the business days of the week, is just as valid and binding when applied to the first day of the week as to the seventh. As the law which hallowed the temple for Jehovah's worship is still in force as regards the Church, so the injunction forbidding any secular employment on the day when Jehovah visits his people under the Old Dispensation is still applicable to this day when Christ comes to meet his people under the New. What was essential to the enjoyment of the one is equally essential to the other. Now the Saviour's habit of meeting his disciples on the day which commemorated his resurrection, the continued token of his presence with them on that day after his ascension, "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day,"² not to say the Divine guidance of the Holy Spirit given to the Apostles, having established that day as the trysting-time when Christ should meet his people assembled together in his name for all future ages, it must be fenced round by the same means and for the same reason as the seventh day to the Hebrews. The argument, therefore, for "wholly resting

¹ Hebrews iv. 9.

² Rev. i. 10.

all that day from worldly occupations" is neither Jewish, nor Scotch, nor Puritanical, but is the dictate of sound reason and conscience in every country, kindred, and tongue, as Divinely interpreted in the Fourth Commandment.

V.-X. Such is the First Table of the Decalogue. The Second exemplifies the same principles in defining and enforcing our duty to man. Parents are God's representatives in the family and must be honoured for his sake. Life is his gift and must be held sacred. Marriage is his ordinance, "and the bed must be undefiled." Property is his endowment, as well as our neighbour's character and position, and these must be respected as we shall answer to the great Judge at last.

What, then, is the place to be assigned to this Divinely inspired supplement and practical application of the principles of the moral law in Old Testament times in the teaching of the Christian Church? That something more than mere historic interest attaches to it is apparent from its reproduction in letter and spirit in the teaching of Christ and his Apostles. Neither yod nor little corner of its letters was to perish till all had been accomplished.¹ To say *Corban* in excuse for breaking the "Fifth Word" was hypocrisy.² To offend in one point, according to St. James, is to be guilty of all. "For he that said, Do not commit adultery; said also, Do not kill. Now if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a transgressor of the law."³ From these and similar references it is evident that the moral precepts of the Decalogue, having their basis in eternal truth, are still in force in the Gospel ages. But while they still occupy a place in the teaching of the Church, it is, to say the least, doubtful whether they occupy the same place as in the Tabernacle.

¹ Matt. v. 18.

² Mark vii. 6, 11.

³ James ii. 11.

Great strides in the development of moral truth have been made since the day when Jehovah spake unto his people in Horeb. Christ, by his obedience, has "magnified the law," raised the standard of its morality, not abolished it. With his advent and the baptism of Pentecost "the original ethical outfit of man,"¹ not to speak of the inner spiritual life, has been remodelled, extended, and raised to a higher platform; new light has been thrown upon our relationship to God as our reconciled Father in Christ; a new definition of the term "neighbour" has been given, and the old "middle wall of partition" has been broken down between Jew and Greek; a new divine family, God's spiritual children, has been created by the Spirit; and mercy, now, rejoiceth against judgment. In these altered circumstances what was no doubt a perfect exposition and comprehensive supplement of moral truth from Moses to John the Baptist, requires in itself to be expounded and supplemented to meet the conditions of the case. The new edition of the Horeb Tablets was published to the Church in the *Sermon on the Mount*, and its new summary was "tabulated" in the upper room at Jerusalem on the eve of the crucifixion. When the venerable Archbishop Usher² submitted to be catechised by the devout and saintly Samuel Rutherford, as was the custom in those times at family prayers, and in reply to a question as to the number of the commandments said, there were *eleven*, it was deemed unnecessary in his case to proceed further with the "exercise." But when, on the following Sabbath, by which time his character and office had been discovered, in Rutherford's pulpit he preached from the text: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another, as I have loved you,"³ it was felt that he was not only

¹ Dr. S. Cox.

² Dean Stanley's "Lectures on the Church of Scotland."

³ John xiii. 34.

exhibiting in his own person and conduct a beautiful illustration of the spirit of the Gospel, but also suggesting, by his answer on the preceding night, a profound thought on the connexion of the Old Testament morality with the New. To the Divine summary and practical enforcement of moral truth as delivered to Moses our Lord has added an equally authoritative summary and enforcement of the higher morality which He taught in the words of the "Eleventh Commandment."

The Hebrew Decalogue, then, and along with it the entire moral law, as explained, exemplified, and fulfilled in Christ, occupies a Divinely appointed place in the modern Church, although not in all respects the same place as that which it held under the older dispensation. It is no longer at the footstool of the Mercy-seat, hidden away in the ark of the testimony, but reflected by the Gospels in the life, character, and work of Him who occupies the throne. The law fulfilled is no longer our dread, but our boast and our joy. It is no longer written on tables of stone, but has been engraven by the Spirit's teaching on the fleshly tables of the heart. It is no longer obeyed from fear, or from motives of reward, but from gratitude and overflowing affection. And, above all, it is no longer to be taught as a mere system of ethics distinct from and preparatory to our spiritual life and work, but as merged into and blended with that all-comprehensive, perfect, and Divine legislation: "The truth as it is in Jesus." As the rain-filled streams and rills of highland ridges centre in the mountain lake that forms the reservoir from which the inhabitants of our great cities draw their daily supply, so all types, emblems, rites, codes of moral and spiritual enactments, all forms of truth in the Old Testament pointed and led up to Him who was the Living Truth, out of whose fulness we all receive grace upon grace. It is in, and through, the spirit of Christ's life and teaching

in the Gospels, that we who live in the Christian ages must study the Decalogue :

“Talk they of morals? O thou bleeding Love!
Thou Maker of new morals to mankind!
The grand morality is love of Thee.”¹

In Christ all fulness dwells. He is our model in ethics as well as spiritualities. To Him all forms and customs are subordinated. Before Him every knee must bow. By Him all our domestic, civil, political, moral, and religious obligations are hallowed; so that whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we must do all to his glory. Those who love Him will keep his commandments. Moses and Elijah were but his forerunners; this is the beloved Son, let us hear Him.

R. BALGARNIE.

BRIEF NOTICES.

In *MICAH, with Notes and Introduction*, by Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A. (London: Cambridge Warehouse), the new volume of THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS, the author of our best commentary on Isaiah does not appear at his best. The picturesque element in the character and words of the Morasthite is not brought out, as surely it should have been in an exposition intended for the use of the young, who indeed would gain a far more vivid conception of the man and his work from Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, although that can hardly be reckoned a book for virgins and lads. Nor does Mr. Cheyne, in our judgment, meet, as he is very capable of doing, the wants of more advanced and experienced students of the Prophecy. As an instance of the former defect we may take his treatment of the opening verses of Chapter vi., where it

¹ Young.

surely would have been natural and easy to bring out a certain latent force and pathos in the Divine Appeal, by pointing out that the mountains and hills of Palestine were constituted judges of the controversy between Jehovah and his people, because they were to be smitten and profaned by the approaching invasion by which the sins of the people were to be punished; and, as having to share in the suffering produced by those sins, had, as it were, some claim to produce their testimony and to pronounce their verdict. An illustration of the second defect we have noted will be found in the Verses which immediately follow this appeal. Verses 6 and 7 are commonly taken, not without reason, as the question of Balak, to which Verse 8 is the answer of Balaam. Yet all that Mr. Cheyne has to say on this classic passage is that this view—which, to say the least of it seems *indicated* in Verse 5—is adopted by Bishop Butler; that it is probably suggested by 2 Kings iii. 27, where it is recorded that the King of Moab offered up the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul; that this inference is hasty, since human sacrifices were one of the abominations of Israel which most excited the reprobation of the prophets; and that Bishop Butler had probably not realized the amount of personification which exists in the prophetic writings. Now it is always dangerous to differ from Bishop Butler, even when he stands alone, especially in a question of this kind, which, be it remembered, is not a question of Hebrew grammar or syntax—on which Mr. Cheyne's vote would outweigh the Bishop's—but of general criticism and literary insight. On this point, however, Butler by no means stands alone. His view is shared by many of the most accomplished and devout students of the Word; by F. D. Maurice, for example, by Cardinal Newman, by Robertson (of Brighton), by Dean Stanley. All these were men of some literary capacity, of some spiritual insight; most of them were men whose like we can hardly hope to look upon again. And had Mr. Cheyne remembered that all these authorities were against him, he would, we believe, have looked a little more closely into the subject, and might have discovered that the view they hold does not rest on the hasty inference which he deprecates. It rests, rather, on the profound conception of *Righteousness* characteristic of Balaam, on his belief in it as the sole power which can redeem men and nations, lift them into happy conditions, and render them invincible against their foes; a conception which comes out in all his

"oracles," but is never more finely expressed than when he declares (Numbers xxiii. 21) that "no distress is to be seen in Israel," because "no iniquity is to be descried in Jacob." The man who was capable of that noble epigram, with its broad implication that the sins of men are the sole cause of their miseries, and that their very miseries are intended to correct their sins, could hardly be incapable of teaching that God's sole requisition on men is that they do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with Him.

Nothing that Mr. Cheyne writes can, however, be without value for students of any age; and he would be rash and unwise who should hereafter preach or write on the prophecy of Micah without first consulting this small volume. But we confess that, coming fresh to it from the perusal of his *Isaiah*, it has disappointed us. We cannot honestly reckon it among his best work, or pronounce it altogether worthy of his powers, or predict that it will add to his wide and well-earned reputation.

Candour compels us to take a very different tone in speaking of *Professor A. B. Davidson's* INTRODUCTION AND NOTES TO THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS, published as one of the HANDBOOKS FOR BIBLE CLASSES, by Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh. The Introduction is a master-piece of condensed information, happily ordered, happily expressed. We shall not betray its secrets further than to say that the Professor leans to the Lutheran hypothesis, which ascribes this Epistle (or Treatise rather) to Apollos, while yet he does not wholly commit himself to it, the forthcoming evidence not warranting a decisive conclusion. But if the Introduction is the best bit in the book, the Notes are excellent, though of course we now and then differ from the conclusions they formulate. For the most part we follow him with docility and pleasure, never with heartier consent than in Chapters i. and ii. in which, to some extent, he himself confessedly follows the lines laid down in the striking and thoughtful exposition which Dr. Robertson Smith recently contributed to this Magazine. We doubt, however, whether even he has quite bottomed the difficult passage in Chapter vi. verses 1-6, which has carried terror and dismay into so many hearts, and has darkened with a needless dread the dying hours of some of the most saintly of men:—*e.g.* those of the venerable Canon Sibthorp, who twice seceded from the English to the Roman Church, but

remained through all changes a most true and devoted member of the one great Catholic Church which overleaps all our petty ecclesiastical divisions, and embraces the good of every land and age. It may be doubted, indeed, whether any of us will ever fathom this most difficult passage, and grasp and fix the undefined horror which broods within it; but he would render a priceless service to the souls of men who should bend all his powers to a patient study of it, and then give us what help to a right understanding of it he could. And who could more hopefully attempt that achievement than Dr. Davidson himself? If, however, he has not yet grappled this mystery to his soul with hooks of steel, he has at least given us one of the most useful and instructive expositions of the Epistle which we possess.

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MIRACLES.—THE PROBLEM STATED.

(14) AFTER the unfounded assumption that the Bible affirms a genesis of the world which is demonstrably unscientific,¹ there is no point on which modern sceptics lay more stress than the undoubted fact, that the Bible records signs and wonders which imply a power above nature, if not against it. Perhaps the objection would be more accurately stated were they to say, that the miracles of the Bible imply the activity, in nature, of a Power of which our modern scientific interpretation of nature finds no trace. But, state the objection how we may, it is a formidable one, and has done much to unsettle the faith both of those who still believe, and of those who once believed, the Bible to be or to contain the word of God.

Now so long as the Church conceived of miracles as violations of the laws of nature, it was very natural, and even reasonable, that sceptics should declare miracles to be impossible: for how should God transgress his own laws? But now that the Church conceives of miracles as modifications of the ordinary course of nature, induced by the coming in of a higher force acting on a higher law, sceptics no longer pronounce miracles to be impossible indeed, but they still declare them to be incredible. How can they pronounce them impossible when even they themselves possess and wield a power by which the ordinary course of nature is constantly modified and overruled? When, to use a familiar illustration, I fling a stone into the air, I do not violate the law of gravitation; I simply modify, and to a

¹ For the previous sections of this Essay, see pp. 191-209.

certain extent override, its action by bringing a new force into play, that of my own will. The intelligence and will of man have changed the face of the whole earth. By hewing down forests, by ploughing and draining fields, by laying down roads and railroads, by building houses, cities, dykes, harbours, ships, we have not only modified the surface of land and sea, we have also invaded the kingdom of the air, and changed the very climates on which, in large measure, the life of nature depends. There is not a single square inch in England, probably there is not a square inch in the whole world, which is to-day what it would have been had it been left to the free play of purely natural forces. But if the will of man has so largely modified the action of these forces, who can doubt that the will of God might, should He, for some worthy end, think fit, modify it much more widely, subtly, and potently?

(15) "No," says the modern sceptic, "miracles are not impossible, if by miracle you mean simply a modification of the natural order by the introduction of a supernatural force, and if I admit that any such supernatural force exists. But though they are not impossible, they are incredible; for no adequate reason for them has ever been adduced, nor have they been submitted to the scientific tests by which alone they could be verified."

And if in our turn we ask: How, then, do you account for the fact that in a Book, confessedly the greatest and noblest in the literature of the world, and by men who seem to be very honest and competent witnesses, miracles are constantly affirmed, and are so blended with both the theology and the morality they taught—their theology, moreover, being the highest, and their morality the purest the world has ever seen—that the one cannot be disentangled from the other? The sceptic replies: "The miracles of the Bible can and must be disentangled from its teaching. They are late and legendary additions to it. They are of

the nature of those myths which we find in the earlier stages of the history of every race, the fabulous inventions with which every race glorifies its own origin, its own founders and heroes. The growth of such myths implies no insincerity; the allegation is not that they are wittingly or wilfully fabricated. Great teachers, warriors, rulers, benefactors, naturally live on in the memory and affection of their fellows long after they are dead. Their achievements are exaggerated, their character exalted, first by affection, then by tradition, till they grow to be of more than mortal stature; a halo gathers round their brows, and they are worshipped as gods, or at least as sons of the gods, while the far-resounding echoes of the great deeds they really did swell into monstrous and fabulous proportions."

And such a reply does not, at the first blush, seem to be unreasonable. It falls in with many vague notions which are floating in our minds, and comes to us with all the added strength which these vague notions lend it. It is only when we bring it to the Bible, and try to read the Bible in its light, that we discover how utterly this plausible hypothesis breaks down. For there we find both that the miracles of the Bible cannot possibly be disentangled from its teaching, and that these miracles bear no single trace, mark, or note of the legendary growth or mythical invention to which they are ascribed.

(16) That the miracles of the Bible cannot be detached from its theology and morality has been proved again and again, and proved most conclusively; for the sceptical argument has been broken down not at its weakest, but at its strongest, point. How often of late years, for example, and from how many quarters, have we been admonished to drop the supernatural and even the theological element in the Gospels, and to content ourselves with the pure, sweet, and lofty morality of the Sermon on the Mount; on which

Sermon those whom we call sceptics have lavished eulogies so nobly conceived and so eloquently expressed that it would be hard to match them from the writings of apologists and divines. But if for a moment we accept their advice and confine ourselves to the Sermon which, for them, sums up all that is most valuable in the Gospel of Christ, do we thereby exclude either theology or miracles from our field of view? On the contrary, not only do we find in this Sermon a doctrine of God, a doctrine of the Holy Ghost, a doctrine of Providence, a doctrine of Sin and of the Forgiveness of Sins, a doctrine of Prayer, and a doctrine of Heaven, but we also find that the motives to which its pure and lofty morality appeals are purely theological motives. We are to do good, hoping for nothing in return, we are to give alms without advertising them, we are to love all men, even our enemies, we are to requite good for evil and give a blessing for a curse, not from any merely ethical motive, but from purely religious motives,—that we may please our Father who seeth in secret, that we may prove ourselves to be his children, that we may become perfect even as He is perfect: we are not to be careful, because our Father careth for us; we are to forgive, because He has forgiven us; we are to ask for what we want, because our Father knows how to give us his good gifts, and we are not to be importunate in our prayers, because our Father knoweth what we have need of before we ask Him. In short, the whole round of motives in this sermon is purely theological.¹

But *the motives* of any ethical system are its essence; they mould its character, they determine its quality. How, then, can we detach the theology of the Sermon on the Mount from its morality when, to do that, would be simply to detach the motive from its every precept, to rob it of its essence, and so to destroy its very existence?

¹ Cf. "The Foundations of Faith." By Rev. Henry Wace, D.D.

And as for detaching miracles from this Sermon, that is wholly impossible, except at the cost of vitally impairing its integrity. For not only does it imply a supernatural element throughout, but in the verses in which it culminates—verses than which none are more dear to the sceptic and the moralist, if only because they rebuke the hypocrisy of the Church,—our Lord represents some of his followers as claiming to have wrought miracles, nay, as having really cast out devils in his name, and in his name done many wonderful works; and as, nevertheless, being rejected by Him because they had not cast the devil out of their own heart, but had been workers of iniquity as well as workers of miracles. And yet how should He have spoken of them as working miracles, and working them in his name, if He Himself did no miracle? How should his mere Name have been so potent if He Himself exercised no supernatural power?

No, we can no more detach miracles than we can detach theology from the Sermon on the Mount. And if miracles, theology, and morality are inextricably blended in the very Sermon which the opponents of theology and miracles have selected as their battlefield, and which they so love and admire that they would fain reduce the whole teaching of Christ to the limits of this single discourse, we may be sure that in the other sections and books of the Bible miracles and teaching are still more obviously, if not still more intimately, intertwined.

(17) That the miracles of the Bible present none of the well-known notes or marks which characterize the myths of other ancient Scriptures or traditions becomes apparent as soon as we study them, and especially as we observe the manner in which they are distributed through its pages. These marks are so well known, so generally admitted, that I need only enumerate them.

Myths, then, belong to the earlier reaches of human

history, and tend to disappear as we come down the stream of time.

Myths tend to glorify a race or the origin of a race, and the great men who have illustrated and adorned it.

Myths take time to grow ; if a man is no hero to his own valet, so also no hero or prophet is exalted to divine honours by his own generation or in his own age and land.

I do not pause to argue these points. They are admitted axioms. But if we apply these axioms to the Bible story, fairly yet firmly, we are likely to be at once surprised and edified by the result.

(18) The first fact likely to strike a student of the Bible who seeks to acquaint himself with the story it tells is that, whereas in all other literatures myths abound in the earlier stages of history and gradually disappear as that history comes into clearer light, in the Bible we absolutely have no record of a single miracle, a single notable modification of natural laws by a supernatural power, for the first twenty-five centuries of the space it covers ! Creation is of necessity miraculous on any theory of it, and hence no candid reader will affect surprise at finding certain marvellous displays of supernatural energy in the document which records the creation of the world and of man. But if, as we are bound to do, we refuse to reckon as a miracle any event, however marvellous, which can be fairly attributed to natural or secondary causes—as, for example, the Deluge or the destruction of the Cities of the Plain—we are met by this most remarkable fact, that from the creation of the world down to the call of Moses, a period of two thousand five hundred years, the laws of nature hold on the even tenour of their way, unbroken by a single interruption, although these twenty-five centuries, since they are the earliest in the human story, ought, according to the mythical hypothesis, to be the richest in tales of wonder. Abraham wrought no miracle, nor Isaac, nor Jacob, though

these three patriarchs were the venerated fathers and founders of the Hebrew race, never forgotten in after years, never mentioned but with honour and pride; and although it is precisely the founders of a race with whom tradition and mythical invention are most busy, and round whose heads a legendary halo most naturally gathers.

With the call of Moses, indeed, the first miraculous epoch opens; there commences an extraordinary outburst of supernatural force; and so long as the sacred historian is narrating the exodus from Egypt, the wandering in the Wilderness, and the entrance into the Promised Land, signs and wonders meet us almost on every page. Here, then, the mythical theory may seem to win an easy triumph; for, confessedly, the origin of a race is apt to be glorified by legends which will not bear a critical examination. But this apparent triumph is turned into utter defeat the moment we mark that the miracles which attended the commencement of the national life do *not* glorify either Moses or the men whom he redeemed from their bondage and welded into a nation. So far as they were vouchsafed to Moses personally, they came, as we shall see, to compel him to an errand on which he was unwilling to go; so far as they were wrought by Moses for the people, they were wrought in vain, and were the reproach of the nation rather than their glory.

The first two miracles in his personal record are those of the staff turned into a serpent, and of the hand smitten with leprosy. Have these miracles, both of which attended his call to the service of God and of Israel, the look of myths invented by fond tradition to do him honour? What they really illustrate is his weakness, not his strength, his well nigh invincible obstinacy and unbelief. It was because he would not go on the errand on which he was sent, because he could not be persuaded that he was competent for the task to which he was called, that these

marvels were wrought. Even when they had been wrought, the historian tells us that he persisted in his obstinate reluctance and unbelief, until the anger of God was kindled against him. Is that in the tone of one who was inventing a mythic halo for the head of the Redeemer and Lawgiver of Israel, and who wanted to make him glorious in our eyes?

In like manner the miracles of the Wilderness, almost without exception, tell to the shame not to the honour of the men who, in the language of one of their own poets, there saw God, tempted Him, and proved his work. Forty years long was He grieved with them and provoked, working miracles only to still their murmurs, to quench their mutinies, to repair their mistakes, to rebuke their sins. Is it so much as conceivable that miracles such as these were invented by the poets of Israel in order to glorify their origin, to give dignity and heroic splendour to the men from whom they sprang? Or were they so clumsy that, intending to lift their fathers to heaven, they unwittingly cast them down into this hell of opprobrium, folly, obstinacy, and flat rebellion against the Hand which fed and guided them? That, surely, is a curious example of the patriotic legend which, instead of setting forth the fathers and founders of a race as heroes half divine, stigmatizes them as such incurable and stiffnecked sinners that the whole generation of them perished by and for their crimes in the Wilderness!

No sooner were the Jews led through the Wilderness and established in the Holy Land by Moses, and Joshua his minister and successor, than the display of miraculous power begins to decline, and for a period of six centuries we meet with only a dubious miracle here and there. In the long picture gallery of Holy Writ no men have a more legendary look than the border chieftains who rose to be Judges in Israel. The age of the Judges is confessedly the heroic age of the Hebrew chronicles; and heroes are the

very men round whose memories marvels, legends, fabulous exploits, most naturally collect. The Judges were succeeded by the Kings; and for whom should tradition weave its mythical wreaths, or exhale its bright magnifying mists, if not for Saul the warrior, for David the poet and darling of Israel, and for Solomon its sage? In these three we have the very style of man that attracts legends to himself as by a natural law—as indeed they have attracted them in chronicles less sober than those of the Bible. And yet in the era of the Judges only a few miracles are found, while in that of the earlier and nobler kings they are altogether wanting.

It may be said, however, "Miracles are not to be looked for in an age so enlightened as that of David and Solomon, when the Hebrews were brought into contact with other races and higher civilizations than their own; an age of commerce, literature, art, in which knowledge grew from more to more." How, then, are we to account for the fact that, two centuries later, we come on another extraordinary manifestation of the miraculous energy? Samuel founded the schools of the prophets indeed; but Elijah and Elisha seem to have been the men who first made prophecy a real and great power in Israel, who brought its broader theology and loftier moral ideal to bear on the national conscience. And with the advent of Prophecy to power there came a whole series of miracles as marvellous as any of which we read in the earlier and darker ages. At a period so late, and in a light so clear as to leave little scope for legend, we find marvels as numerous as ever, and as wonderful. Nor have these later marvels any trace of mythical invention upon them. Some of them illustrate the Prophet's weakness rather than his strength, tend to his shame, not to his glory, as, for instance, the miracle by which Elijah was fed in the Wilderness, after he had prayed that he might die rather than be sent back to a task so lonely and so hopeless;

while all of them tend to the shame, rather than to the glory, of the people of Israel, since they were wrought to recover them from their idolatries and sins to the service of God, and wrought, as the poets and chroniclers both confess, almost wholly in vain. Nor, again, is it to his miracles that Elijah owes his grandeur and the large heroic proportions he assumes in our thoughts, but to his character, to his indomitable courage, his passionate loyalty and devotion; just as Elisha stands in our imaginations as the type of all that is sweet, genial, gracious in the man of God, not because he did many mighty works, but because his works, like those of One greater than himself, were works of mercy and compassion.

Once more the glory declines as these two heroic figures pass from the scene, and the light of the miraculous Shechinah is involved in the cloud. And, now, we might well think the world was growing too old and too wise to babble of legends, and to delight itself in the wonders proper only to its childhood. Four centuries pass, illuminated only at scattered and distant points by the supernatural effulgence. The national existence of the Jews has come to an end. The land, once so populous and thriving, lies desolate. Of a people, once so mighty, only a few poor captives are left, who sit and weep by the waters of Babylon. And here of all places, at Babylon, fertilized by the waves of successive Eastern civilizations, among a people the most fierce, luxurious, and polished, the miraculous energy breaks forth once more, and Daniel and his compeers are so visibly guarded and taught by Heaven as to assure the dejected captives that God has not forgotten them, and to constrain the mighty Persian conquerors to unloose their chains and to send them back to the land of their fathers in peace. Yet even now this strange story tells against, rather than for, the people for whose redemption these marvels are wrought. Only an inconsiderable remnant of them

respond to the heavenly call, and return to re-commence their national life. Most of them reject the counsel of God against themselves, and fade out of history, absorbed by the races amongst whom their captivity has been spent; inso-much that the fate of ten out of the twelve tribes remains an insoluble problem to this day. Still, therefore, the miracles wear the same unmythical stamp. They are not legends which any race would have invented in its own honour. They proclaim its shame rather than its glory. For which of these later prophets did not the Jews reject or persecute? against which of these gifted and patriotic statesmen did they not rebel?

(19) In the minds of many readers this strange story, so far as it has yet gone, the story which the Bible tells of its own miracles, will, I imagine, awaken some surprise. For most of us have assumed that miracles are pretty evenly distributed through the pages of the Old Testament, and thus we have missed the obvious intention which goes far to vindicate and explain them. When we see that its miracles group themselves in three periods far removed from each other, and cluster round three events of prime importance, viz., the inception of the national life, the advent of the Prophetic power, and the redemption from the Babylonian captivity, we begin to get glimpses of a certain Divine purpose, a certain Divine order and propriety in them. We feel that, if God so loved men as to reveal Himself and his will to them when they could not find Him out, and were perishing for lack of that knowledge in which eternal life consists, it was natural that He should elect one out of the various races of men, and so manifest Himself to them as to train and prepare them to receive, and to impart, a growing revelation of his will. At the very lowest we see that there was a certain economy, such as characterizes all Divine works, in this selection of one race to receive the supernatural disclosure which was intended for the benefit of all

racess ; while in the fact that the miracles group themselves round the three critical points in the history of that elect race, we recognize a new illustration of that same economy of Divine power. Supernatural interventions are not lavished in unnecessary and wasteful profusion. They come only at the call of need. There is a certain unity in them. They conspire together for one great and worthy end ; they are meant to reveal God as the Father, Teacher, and Saviour of mankind. Even with this end in view, the laws of nature are not unnecessarily and perpetually modified. Only at long intervals, only to usher in some great birth of time, does the Creative Spirit look through the veil of secondary causes, only "at sundry times," and to meet some pressing necessity, does the light shine through the cloud in which it is ordinarily involved.

If, then, we listen, as we are bound to listen, to the story told by the Bible itself, and mark the law which governs the distribution of its miracles, the haze of difficulty which enshrouds them thins, in large measure it lifts and disappears ; and we can but confess that here, as everywhere else, God has revealed his will in a manner worthy of Himself.

(20) Even yet, however, the story is not fully told. The best is still to come.

Another wide interval, an interval of four centuries, is placed between the Restoration from the Captivity and the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and during these four hundred years no miracle is recorded, and even the voice of Prophecy is dumb. But when, "in the fulness of the times," the Son of Man appeared to redeem the world from a more dreadful captivity than that of Babylon and Egypt, and to complete the revelation of God as the Teacher and Saviour of mankind, it was but natural that the miraculous energy, which had emphasized each of its previous initiatory stages, should break forth and shine with a splendour

beyond all precedent. If there was ever a moment in the history of man in which the Creative Spirit might be expected to disclose Himself in works natural to Him but supernatural to us, works in which that Divine force, his sovereign and almighty Will, should so modify the laws of nature and of human nature as to compel recognition, if not faith,—was not this such a moment? Whatever our private verdict, however, the Gospels steadily affirm that when the Son of Man, Himself the great miracle of time, manifested Himself to Israel, He wrought among them signs and wonders such as man had never witnessed before, and that He communicated this strange power to the men who “*accompanied with Him.*”

Now if we recall these familiar miracles, and ask ourselves whether they bear a single mark of a mythical or legendary origin, we cannot in candour deny that they are free from every trace of it, despite all the attempts of keen and erudite critics to fasten that colour upon them. Myths belong to the earlier stages of history; but this was the last stage in the national history of the Jews. Myths tend to glorify a race, or the great men of a race; but the Jews rejected Him to whom these miracles are ascribed; and, so far from placing Him among their greatest, they hate and deny Him to this day as a traitor and an apostate who brought shame and disaster on the blood from which He sprang. Myths take time to grow; but the miracles attributed to the Son of Man were attributed to Him in his lifetime, and were recorded by his own contemporaries.

We are told, indeed, that that age—late as it was, and albeit we have derived from it and the ages which immediately preceded it, all that is highest and best in the civilization of our own time—was a credulous age, in which legendary and marvellous achievements were freely ascribed to every personage who attained an heroic stature. But with what reason can we call that a credulous age in which

the mythologies and legends of the great Pagan superstition were all crumbling into dust, when the Epicurean philosophy took the very tone adopted by our modern materialists, and the Stoic anticipated the very maxims insisted on by our modern advocates of a rational morality uncomplicated by the dogmas of theology?

(21) If any man objects: "But we are speaking of *Jews*, not of Greeks and Romans; and surely the Jews of that time were credulous and prone to see miracles where no miracles were?" we need not insist, in reply, on a fact for which there is nevertheless much evidence, viz., that even the Jews were deeply infected in the time of Christ, and for two or three centuries before that time, with the sceptical philosophy of Greece and Rome. There is an answer to it so conclusive that, though it has often been adduced, it has never been met, nor am I aware of any attempt even to refute it. For at this very age there lived a man who answered much more closely to the popular, and even to the Jewish, idea of a hero than Christ Jesus; a man, moreover, who made a far deeper impression on the imagination and memory of his fellows; and yet no miracle was ever attributed to him, whether in the Bible or out of it. John the Baptist was a Jew. The Jewish people recognised in him a prophet and more than a prophet. They would gladly have accepted him as the Christ. So profound was the impression he made that "all Jerusalem and all Judea went out after him;" so profound that Josephus, who dismisses Jesus with a single dubious sentence, has much to say of the character and mission of the stern unbending seer and moralist, who struck his contemporaries rather as an embodied and inspired voice than as a man of like passions with themselves. And yet no legend has gathered round this strange impressive figure, no halo gleams on his brow. Neither his own disciples nor the Jewish people, nor Josephus or any other writer of his time, credits him

with the supernatural power so freely ascribed to Jesus, and even to the meanest of his followers. So marked was the contrast between John and Jesus, that even the outlandish folk of Peræa were struck with it, and exclaimed, "John did no miracle, but all that John said of this man is true." It is, therefore, to beg the whole question, it is to evade rather than meet the point in dispute, when certain critics ascribe the miracles of Jesus to the credulous and myth-making tendencies of the age in which He appeared, although the most prominent and popular Jewish prophet of that age stands before us untouched by any ray of miraculous glory. Till this fact has been explained, this problem solved, we are hardly called upon to adduce any other argument against those who would reduce the wonders attributed to Christ to the level of worn-out and incredible myths.

(22) Yet there is another argument of no small weight. For, in the case of Christ, myths had no time to grow. It is true that sceptical critics have attributed our four Gospels to the middle or end of the second century. But it is also true that they have been led to affix this late date to them mainly by a desire to discredit them, and to leave room for the fabrication of myths. And it is still further true that they are now beginning to confess, that the Gospels must have been written at a much earlier date than they once supposed. Into this long and difficult controversy, however, we need not enter. For here again we can appeal to a fact which has never been denied, never seriously questioned even. The most sceptical critics admit that four of St. Paul's Epistles,—1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, Galatians,—were written by the Apostle whose name they bear. But St. Paul was born, as they also admit, in about the same year as our Lord. He wrote these Epistles within twenty or thirty years of the death on the cross. In these Epistles he ascribes miracles and miracu-

lous powers to our Lord as clearly and emphatically as do any of the men who wrote the Gospels. He tells us that he had affirmed these miracles from the moment of his conversion; nay, that his own conversion was due to a miracle. Here, then, we have the testimony of one who was of the same generation with Christ—a testimony which leaves no time or scope for the invention of legends, for the growth of myths.

And what need we more? Are we to doubt St. Paul's testimony simply because he was a Christian? But he was not *always* a Christian. He had hated and persecuted Christ. What made him a Christian except that he could not resist a power which conquered even his stubborn and ardent antagonism? His conversion, fairly weighed, does but give new force to his evidence.

(23) At every point, therefore, the mythical hypothesis breaks down, although in some form this hypothesis is the only explanation of the Biblical miracles which the sceptical criticism of the day offers us. If we ask the Bible for its own account of its own miracles, it tells us that, instead of being common and constant, they are rare; that they come only at wide intervals, and to usher in some new and momentous epoch. It groups them round the commencement of the national and religious life of Israel, the advent of Prophecy to power, the redemption from the Captivity, and the coming of that great Prophet, like unto Moses, who was sent to give life to the whole world and to redeem all men from their bondage to vanity and corruption.

(24) Now, obviously, before we can attempt to *solve* the problem of miracles with any hope of success, we must *state* that problem: we must get the statement of the Bible itself. And in addition to all we have yet learned from the Bible, as a corollary or inference from all that we have yet learned, the Bible affirms that the four miracu-

lous epochs in the history of man mark four successive and ascending stages in God's revelation of Himself and of his will to the world. The need for such a revelation needs no proof. That man by searching cannot find out God, even in such poor "perfection" as is possible to man, is surely put beyond a doubt by the moral and religious confusion to which the world, after a search of so many centuries, was reduced at the advent of Christ. In proportion as any man is familiar with the moral and religious conditions of that age, he will admit, what Plato anticipated, that nothing short of a Divine self-revelation could have raised men from the shame and bondage of the pit into which they had fallen. And the affirmation of the Bible is that the revelation thus given in the person, teaching, and work of our Lord Jesus Christ was one for which long and patient preparation was necessary, and had been made; that *one* race had to be, and had been, trained century after century to receive and to disseminate it; that the miraculous epochs of which we have spoken were necessary parts of that training; that at each of these epochs a new and higher form of revelation was introduced; that miracles were necessary and were designed to compel attention to and illustrate the new stage, the loftier moral ideal, which had been reached, and to raise the chosen race from the lower stage which it had long occupied, and to which it had grown familiar and attached; and that in the fulness of times, when this training was complete—and, as it seems to us, long before it was complete—God sent forth his Son to make a final disclosure of his will, to fulfil and make good all which those who came before Him had promised and foreshadowed.

Now the true statement of any problem is an immense aid to the solution of it. And already, although as yet the statement of our problem is not complete, I think it must be admitted that it has grown simpler and easier to us;

that there is a certain harmony and consistency in all that we have heard the Bible say of its own miracles which is very reassuring, and which does much to relieve the problem of the difficulties and improbabilities that our false or partial statements of it have attached to it. Does not the Bible, when duly examined, set forth a worthy and sufficient end for the miracles it records? Does it not set them forth in a natural and noble sequence? If miracles are possible, can such miracles as these be altogether incredible, at least to those who believe in God and in any revelation of his will?

(25) To complete our statement of the problem, it only needs that we briefly glance at the miracles which accompanied the final or Christian stage of the Biblical revelation, and gather up what it has to say of the signs and wonders ascribed to our Lord.

Consider, then, *the quality* of the miracles attributed to Christ. So little legendary are they in form and substance, that even the most sceptical critics confess them to be the very perfection of sober good sense when once they are compared with the legends of the Hebrew writings not contained in the Bible, or with the marvels of any Pagan mythology which we are able to recover. Where, for example, do we meet in the Gospels with any "work" which even descends toward the level of the puerile fables which tell us how the boy Jesus breathed the breath of life into birds which he had moulded of clay, or that He gathered up in his "napkin" the water He had spilled from a broken jug?

Consider, again, how the miracles attributed to Him harmonize with all that the New Testament affirms of his nature, his character, his teaching. If, as the Gospels steadfastly assert, He was Himself a miracle, what more natural than that He should work miracles? If He was God as well as man, must not He shew forth the God

in Him as well as the man? If He was only what He meant when He called Himself "the Son of Man," if, that is, He was only the ideal Man, might He not naturally possess a greater power over the forces and laws of nature than we do, who yet are modifying those forces and laws by every breath we draw, and every action we perform? Might He not well rise to that absolute dominion over all the works of God's hands which the ancient seers claimed as the proper, though forfeited, heritage of man? Might not He whose will was invariably at one with the will of God, be *trusted* with a power which could not safely be confided to us while our wills are so weak and variable and prone to stray from their rest? If only He was without sin, as many admit who pronounce his miracles incredible, or deny his "proper deity," was not his very sinlessness the greatest of all miracles, supposing Him to have been a man of like passions with ourselves?

And how came He to speak as man never spake if He were not what man never was? Innumerable attempts have been made, indeed, to reduce the peerless Son of Man to the level of other great teachers of antiquity, attempts, however, which even the ablest and most fearless sceptics—*e.g.* Goethe, Carlyle, John Stuart Mill—have branded as utter and miserable failures: but if we would measure the distance between Him and them, we have only to compare the tone and bearing of Christ with those of Socrates, or Plato, or even St. Paul. In them we have ardent inquiry, lofty speculation, an earnest devotion to the best and highest aims of life, blended with a constant sense of ignorance, failure, dependence, personal uncleanness; while in Him, and in Him alone, we find from the first a calm that never wavers, a wisdom that knows no bound, a holiness unconscious of a single spot, an authority unbroken by a doubt.

Consider, too, how his teaching was illustrated by his

“works”: how, by opening the eyes of the blind, for example, He illustrated the saying, “I am the light of the world”; how, by raising the dead, He proved Himself to be “the Resurrection and the Life”; how, in short, by healing the diseases of men and redeeming them from their distresses, He proclaimed Himself to be the Saviour of the world.

What would the Gospel be to us if there were no forgiveness of sins? But He who forgives sins modifies the action of great moral laws, by bringing a new moral force into play; and shall not He who can thus modify and override moral laws also modify and overrule physical laws? Is it much that He who could say, “Thy sins are forgiven,” should also say, “Take up thy bed and walk?”

Consider, once more, the *self-consistency* of the Gospel miracles, how they all move in one plane and work together for one end. The Incarnation might be incredible to us if it introduced an ordinary life; but the life of Christ is an extraordinary one; through its whole course it answers to the greatness of its beginning. The resurrection and ascension of Christ might be incredible if they closed an ordinary career; but as the close of *his* career on earth they seem simply natural and appropriate.

Glance at his miracles, moreover, in the light of his mission, of the work He is yet to do. According to the Scriptures of the New Testament, He is to raise all men from the dead, to judge or rule them all, to overcome evil with good, to redeem the very creation from its bondage to vanity and corruption, to subdue all things unto Himself, and finally to hand over to his Father a perfected kingdom, a perfected universe. But if that is to be the crown and consummation of his work, is it unreasonable to expect that He who by a stupendous miracle, which involves the modification of all laws both physical and moral, is to reform and reconstitute the universe, should

give us some signs and foretastes of his power even from the first ?

(26) Now we have no right to detach this miracle or that from the whole series of his mighty works, or from all else that the Bible tells us of Him, all that it tells us of his character, his teaching, his claims, his mission and final triumph, and consider them apart. We cannot so much as see them truly save as we see them in their full and natural connexions. The whole thing hangs together, and we are bound to deal with it as a whole. And if we thus deal with it, the mere Biblical statement of the problem goes far toward solving it. For taking it thus, we see that the Bible groups its miracles round the great epochs in the religious history of the race, each of these epochs pointing to and preparing the way for the last, and all culminating in the advent and work of Christ. We see that the Bible claims for Him a nature and character of which miracles would be a natural outcome. We see that all his "works" are good works; that they illuminate the truths He came to teach; that they are consistent with each other, as well as with his character and teaching; and that they are also consistent both with the redeeming work He did on earth, and the yet greater work which He has promised to do from heaven. All the lines of the Divine action and revelation in the past centre in Him; all their lines in the future ray out from Him.

If we once accept this simple, but most wonderful story, it is nothing to say that the miracles of the Bible bear no trace of mythical or legendary invention; it is nothing to say that no other or later "marvels" are worthy to be compared to them. We may go further and say, that the miracles of Christ become *credible* to us by their utter consistency with all else that the Bible contains; that they commend themselves to us as natural and inevitable features of the great story it tells.

(27) These, then, are the facts, and this is the argument which, as they should know, the sceptics and agnostics of the present day have to explain and refute before they can claim the attention of thoughtful and candid men. These facts and this argument are not stated here for the first time. They have been stated again and again for the last thirty or forty years ; and that by men of sufficient note ; by such men, for example as Bersier of Paris, Godet of Neufchatel, Newman Smyth, Phillips Brooks, Henry Ward Beecher, of America ; by Thirlwall, Maurice, Kingsley, Stanley, Wace, Abbott, Lynch, Dale, Edward White, Martineau, and many more, in England. In short, they are the common property of that broader and more advanced school of thought in the Christian world which answers most nearly to the Darwinian school in the scientific world ; though, for the special form in which they appear in this Essay, I am mainly indebted to Smyth's *Old Faiths in New Light*, and to Godet's *Lectures in Defence of the Christian Faith*. And I think we may fairly challenge a reply to it, precisely because it is not the product of a single mind, but the common property of a large and growing school of thought. As yet, however, I have not met with a single serious attempt to answer it ; nor, indeed, with any serious attempt to understand how the Bible reads, to those who believe in it, in the light of the new scholarship and exegesis. Our modern sceptics, at least on the scientific side, so far as they condescend to argue with us, are content to ignore the last and most generous reading, and to carry themselves as though the Roman or the Puritan, the sacerdotal or the Calvinistic interpretation of the Biblical documents were all they had to meet ; which is about as fair as if *we* should content ourselves with refuting the objections to the Christian Faith raised by the sceptics of the pre-Darwinian, or even of the pre-Keplerian and pre-Newtonian age, before Science had learned to utter "that sweet word" Evolution,

—a feat of which it is now so proud that it grows angry should one venture to hint that it may some day learn to pronounce a still larger and nobler word. Should, however, any man of science undertake to reply to this argument, we can promise him that many will listen to him with the most profound and eager interest, and will honestly confess the force of his argument at any point at which they may find themselves unable to meet it. And, till then, we who accept the new theology can afford to take very calmly the charge of a bigoted insensibility to reason so often alleged against us by votaries of the new science.

Indeed it may and ought to be said, even in the interest of science itself, that the charge of bigotry comes with an ill grace from the lips of men who kindle into an Athanasian ire against all who do not instantly accept as true what they themselves must acknowledge to be an unverified, though most probable, hypothesis. Bigotry, alas, is confined to no school of thought, though it is never so out of place as in the school of Christ. It is the offspring of ignorance and illwill; and is, it may be feared, quite as commonly found among those who profess to know as among these who profess to believe. For while it would be easy to name many a defender of the faith who has honestly weighed the latest hypotheses of science, and frankly accepted its "discoveries," it would not be so easy to name sceptical men of science who have earnestly studied the Bible for themselves, and have shewn an equal desire to weigh what it has to urge in its own behalf. And this, I think, we may fairly say, that until they meet the Christian argument in its best and most reasonable form, the form given to it by its most enlightened advocates; so long as they assume, for instance, that the Book of Genesis puts forward a scientific cosmogony obviously untenable, or that the Church still holds a miracle to be an infraction of law, or that the New Testament either

demands belief in doctrines rather than a good life, or teaches men to neglect the duties of this world in order to secure bliss in the world to come, and so makes selfishness rather than love its prime motive, or that it condemns the vast majority of men to an endless torment; they shirk the real difficulties of the problem, evade the best and most advanced statement of the Christian hypothesis, and, in fine, behave themselves as foolishly as would the theologian or divine who should refute the scientific hypothesis in vogue a century ago, and pass by the science of to-day.

ALMONI PELONI.

DOUBLE PICTURES IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND THE APOCALYPSE.

WE propose in this, and at least another paper of a similar kind, to speak of one of those peculiarities in their manner of thought which seem to distinguish the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse among all the other books of the New Testament. Our object is partly critical, for it will be found that our conclusions, if correct, exercise a most vital influence upon the interpretation of many important passages of both these books, especially of the latter of the two. But, while partly critical, it is mainly apologetic. The enquiry ought to throw at least some measure of light upon the great question, by no means as yet settled, whether the two books, notwithstanding all their differences, really proceeded from the same pen. This question is of the deepest interest, not merely in a Biblical, but also in a more strictly theological, point of view. While it has the closest possible bearing upon many difficult and delicate considerations relating to the principles upon which the canonicity of our New Testament books in general is to

be determined, it bears not less directly upon a still weightier question, the interpretation and construction of our whole Christian faith. Let it be established that the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse are the work of the same writer, and it will be impossible to resist the conclusion that the substance of those Christian doctrines which have been received in the Church of Christ through all ages of her history, is connected immediately with the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. The evidence for the Johannine origin of the Apocalypse is, as every one knows, so strong that very few indeed are able to resist it. Were the writer of the Apocalypse and the writer of the Gospel one, then the latter as well as the former proceeded from the most intimate, if not also the most attached, of the Apostles of our Lord. We shall have only further to combine with this the other characteristics of the Gospel in order to feel justified in the inference that it must express to us the mind of Christ. The Christianity which the Church professes—a Christianity so largely moulded by the writings of St. John—will be seen to be the Christianity of Him in whom we recognize a Divine Master, and not of any mystical manipulator of the simpler ideas of Jesus. This circumstance alone is enough to lend ever fresh interest to enquiries as to identity of authorship in the case of the two books of which we speak. No student, however often he may be tired of apologetics, will complain that his attention should be again and again called to an investigation involving such momentous issues.

Again, it will probably be admitted that, in comparing two books with such a purpose as that now before us, the *manner of thought* which marks the writer of each is worthy of peculiar regard. "As a man thinketh in his heart so is he." We may adopt these words to give expression to what all will readily allow, that what a man is will find unusually distinct utterance in the *mode* in which he

presents his thoughts. His mere language indeed, his mere *delectus verborum*, may frequently in no small degree guide us to a determination upon the point. Words are valuable as the expression of thought, and it may be expected that when a man is sincere, simple-minded, and straightforward, he will utter the same thought in the same language. The inference, therefore, is not unfair that, when two writings which we are comparing with one another exhibit great diversity in the choice of words, even when speaking of the same thing, they in all probability proceeded from different authors. No doubt such an inference may easily be too hasty. The same object does not always strike the same person in precisely the same light. The difference may require him to speak differently of it at different times. The object may grow upon him; he may be brought into new relations with it; his views of it may change; his vocabulary may become copious and more accurate by long familiarity with what has deeply interested him. All these considerations require to be kept in view when we would argue from the difference of many words in two treatises—say two Epistles of the New Testament or two passages of the same Gospel—that they cannot have been penned by the same writer. In the main, however, arguments of this kind drawn from the use of words are valid. Sameness in the use of words, especially characteristic words, is a proof of identity, difference is a proof of non-identity, of authorship. But the argument from the use of words, if valid when fairly conducted, seems to possess far greater validity when we turn from the words themselves to the form into which they are cast, or the manner which they display when uttered. A man may change his thoughts, and therefore the words in which he utters them; he is not so likely to change the mould or framework within which all his thinking is conducted. That becomes like his walk, or like the tones, as distinguished from the words, of his voice.

He may walk faster or slower ; he may speak more loudly or more softly ; it matters not ; we recognize him at once, and that even at a distance. However great his transition from one set of ideas to another, the fashion in which he presents them both to himself and others will most probably continue to be the same. In this sense we may put new wine into old bottles without the bottles perishing or the wine being spilled. It will be seen that the double pictures of which we are about to speak deal only in the first instance with *form*. Conclusions as to meaning are inferential.

One other preliminary remark may be made. There seems to have been something in the mode of thinking which characterized the Hebrew mind that may prepare us for the observations to be made in these papers. By "double pictures" is meant expressing the same thing, or nearly the same thing, twice over, the second expression being at the same time climactic to the first. The speaker or writer is not satisfied with one utterance of his thought. After he has spoken it for the first time, he brings it again before him, works upon it, enlarges it, deepens it, sets it forth in stronger and more vivid colours. Yet it is the same thought. It is only now the centre of a circle of still wider circumference, or it is spoken in a more impressive manner than before. The whole system of Hebrew parallelism may probably be regarded as an illustration of this principle, although the element of climax may not be always present. The simple repetition of the thought lends it force, and brings it home more powerfully to the mind. Instead, however, of dwelling upon this, let us rather look for a moment at a simple narrative from the earliest times of the Old Testament, in which it is impossible to mistake the operation of the principle to which we are referring. In Chap. xli. of the Book of Genesis the two dreams of Pharaoh are related, the one of the seven fat and the seven

lean kine; the other of the seven full and the seven blasted ears of corn. Joseph gives the interpretation; and then adds, "And for that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, it is because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass" (Gen. xli. 32). The doubling of the dream was felt to give it a force and certainty which it might not otherwise have possessed. The same observation, though not made in the sacred text, may without hesitation be applied to the two earlier dreams of Joseph himself in Chapter xxxvii. of the same book. Such then was the effect upon a Jew of the repetition of any act or thought; and hence the words of the Psalmist, "God hath spoken once, yea *twice* have I heard this, that power belongeth unto God" (Ps. lxii. 12).

If we now turn to the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse we shall find that, letting alone in the meantime passages marked by the repetition of the same thought in its double and climactic form, the writer of each of these books gives distinct indication of his sense of the importance attaching to a deed performed, or a word spoken, twice instead of only once. Thus in John iv. 54 we read in the Authorised Version, at the close of the narrative of the healing of the nobleman's son, "This is again the second miracle that Jesus did when He was come out of Judea into Galilee." The Revisers render in substantially the same way, only replacing the word "miracle" by the more correct translation "sign." It may be doubted if either of these two renderings gives the exact idea of the Evangelist. Let the reader turn to the original, and he will see that it ought to be translated, "This Jesus again did, as a second sign, having come out of Judea into Galilee." The order of the words is remarkable, and no student of the style of the Fourth Gospel will for a moment doubt that it is intentional. Nor is it difficult to explain the intention. It appears from various earlier passages of the Gospel, from

Chap. i. 44, the object of which is to make it clear that the three disciples mentioned were Galileans; from Chap. ii. 1, where Cana is said to be "of Galilee," not because these last words were a part of the name, but because it was desirable to give the province of "Galilee" a special prominence; and from Chap. iv. 43-45, where so much is said of this province and its inhabitants, that St. John regarded it as a point of peculiar importance to bring out the connexion of Jesus with Galilee. Historically Christ's "own country" was Judea, but from the first his mission was not to be confined to it. He might at the outset of his course be manifested there; but Judea was the land of "the Jews," the hard, stubborn, stiff-necked, and carnally-minded Jews, who steeled themselves against the revelation of the Saviour's glory. Not in it, therefore, was He to find his chosen followers, or to set forth the first great aspects of his kingdom in the "signs" which He performed, but in despised Galilee, that district of the country from which it was supposed that no prophet could proceed (Chap. vii. 52). Hence the first "sign" related of Jesus is that of turning water into wine in Cana of Galilee. Hence, still more, the confirmation of one at least of the great lessons which that sign conveyed by the relation of a second "sign" there performed in the healing of the nobleman's son. It is the fact that it is a "second sign" that lends it such peculiar weight for the Apostle's purpose; and therefore it is that he says, with an arrangement of his words hardly admitting of any other interpretation than that which we have given, "This Jesus again did, as a second sign." The whole clause is moulded by the thought of the great weight to be attached to the repetition of an act. An illustration of the same kind meets us in the Apocalypse, chap. xix. 3. The voice of much people in heaven has been heard in Verses i. 2, celebrating the fall of Babylon with a "Hallelujah" and

song of praise. At the close of the song it is added in the Authorised Version, "And again they said, Alleluia." The Revisers have here rendered much more correctly, "And a second time they say, Hallelujah." The thought of the cry being heard "a second time" is that which makes it so powerful to the mind of the seer. How must heaven have been stirred by emotions of the profoundest and most enthusiastic joy when not once only but "a second time" its inhabitants cried "Hallelujah"!

To the two illustrations now given of the point before us others might be added, but these are sufficient for our purpose. It will be observed that they are not instances of what may be properly termed "double pictures." There is no double presentation of the same thought, the second presentation being in climax to the first. What we chiefly mark is that sense of the importance of a "second" presentation which prepares the way for a further elucidation of the subject. We obtain admission in each case into the inner chamber of the writer's mind. We see a certain mould and fashion of things of which he feels the value.

We may now take a further step, and we shall find the writers of both the Gospel and the Apocalypse giving us illustrations in short passages, hardly to be called double pictures, of that style of thought of which we speak.

Thus in the very opening of the Gospel we read, "All things were made by Him." The thought is complete: nothing more need be said. But it is not enough for the Evangelist, who adds, as he looks at it again from another point of view, "And without Him was not anything made" (John i. 3). The second of these clauses also, it will be noticed, is even more exclusive than the first; or, if this be not allowed, it will at least be readily granted that the combination of the two lends peculiar vividness and emphasis to what the Evangelist intended to express. Coming

a little further down the same chapter we read, "He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not." The thought is again complete. The sad rejection of Jesus by the world is too clear to need further dwelling on it. But the Evangelist is not satisfied. He looks therefore again at the relation of Jesus to man (whether the world or Israel we shall not enquire) in a deeper and tenderer light, and he adds, "He came unto the things that were his own, and they that were his own accepted Him not" (John i. 10, 11). There will probably be no hesitation in allowing that the thought of the two verses is substantially the same. Yet the rejection of Jesus in the second case is set before us in a much more pathetic light than in the first. Instead of "the world" we have now "his own;" instead of "was in" we have "came unto;" instead of "knew" we have "accepted." There is here, therefore, not only the same thought twice, but the repetition of it is climactic to its first utterance. The same general structure may be traced in such expressions as "He confessed and denied not;" "He answered and said;" "We speak that we do know, and bear witness of what we have seen," in all of which climax is observable. "Confession" may be made in any circumstances, amidst friends as well as foes, in times of ease as well as times of trouble; "denying not" belongs to the prophet's task when the world that rejects his message would fain close his mouth. To "answer" embodies the general idea of reply; to "say" gives the words that are used. Any one who knows may "speak;" he only who has a commission entrusted to him, and who is responsible for its discharge, "bears witness."

We take next an instance from the Apocalypse. In Chap. xi. 18 of that book we read, "And the nations were wroth, and Thy wrath came, and the time of the dead to be judged and *the time* to give their reward to thy

servants the prophets, and to the saints, and to them that fear thy name, the small and the great, and to destroy them that destroy the earth." It would lead us away from our present object were we to spend time in enquiring into the general relation of these clauses to one another. We deal only with the two "the saints" and "they that fear God." These do not seem to be two different classes; they are in reality one class, though they are beheld by the seer in two aspects, the one taken from the sphere of Jewish, the other from that of Gentile, thought. "Saints," or consecrated ones, was the name for all true Israelites, members of that community which the Almighty had separated to Himself as a "holy people." "They that fear God" was, as we see in the Acts of the Apostles, the appellation constantly applied to Gentile proselytes. No distinction is drawn here between a Jewish and a Gentile portion of the Church. Both classes are really one; but they may be, and they are, viewed under a double aspect. On the one hand they are God's true Israel; on the other hand they are those whom He has redeemed out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation. This latter circumstance also constitutes the climax in the words; and it will be found that, in the interpretation of the Apocalypse, there is constant occasion to make use of the idea of climax proceeding from one step to another of a similar kind. The failure, indeed, to notice the principle of structure illustrated by the words before us has lain at the root of not a few serious mistakes in the interpretation of that book. It seems to be a main explanation of the fact, that so many commentators have been led to regard it as a book pervaded by a narrow and Judaic spirit instead of a spirit of the freest and most generous universalism.

With these remarks, in a great measure preliminary, we may now turn to some of the double pictures presented to us in our two books; and, in doing so, we have only to

request our readers to take two general considerations along with them. In the first place, they will not suppose that historical facts are either invented or changed, in order that the Evangelist may obtain an opportunity of gratifying his own structural tastes. Some facts are only selected by him from a vast multitude of others left unnoticed, because they seem best adapted to the mode of grouping which he loves, —partly, it may be, from a kind of natural inclination to it; partly, because it appears to him that he finds in it a more powerful expression than he could otherwise obtain for the conception that fills his mind. In the second place, the force of the argument depends upon the combination of all the particulars on which it rests, and not upon any one of them taken singly. A single passage would prove little or nothing. But if consistency and clearness are given to many passages by the application of the hypothesis with which we start, if difficulties are removed, and if the introduction of little particulars into a narrative receives an explanation which it would otherwise be hard to supply, then we shall surely be entitled to conclude that the hypothesis is sound.

We begin with the Fourth Gospel, and with an incident related in the first chapter.

Most readers of that chapter must have been struck with the facts related in Verses 29, 35, 36. In the first of these verses we are told that "on the morrow he (the Baptist) seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." In the last two we read, "Again on the morrow John was standing, and two of his disciples; and he looked upon Jesus as he walked, and saith, Behold, the Lamb of God." Why mention a circumstance of this kind twice? and that, too, when the Evangelist feels that he has so much to relate that, were he to tell it all, "even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written" (Chap. xxi. 25).

If there is no difference between the two statements, it seems like a waste of space ; if there is a difference, wherein does the difference lie ? We have here one of the double pictures of St. John. It is of peculiar importance to him to bring out that aspect of Jesus in which He appears as the Lamb of God. At the close of his earthly career He will be seen to be so (Chap. xix. 36, 37). But what He was at the close He was also at the beginning—beneath all the lowliness of his lot, the Divine Lord who changes not, “the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end” (Rev. i. 8 ; xxii. 13). The Baptist had, in all probability, often spoken of Him as the Lamb of God. The Evangelist fixes upon two occasions, one on each of two successive days, when he did so ; and the repetition lends emphasis and force to the declaration. More, however, is necessary in order to bring the incidents within the range of that principle of structure which we are considering. In the mention of the second incident when compared with the first there must be climax. Climax is at once traceable here. At Verse 29 the Baptist appears to have been alone, and his words have the form of a soliloquy. Nothing is said of any persons in his neighbourhood, and it is only when he passes, at Verse 32, to a different topic that we read of that “bearing witness” which most probably implies testifying to others. On the second occasion it is different. “Two of his disciples” stand beside him, and his words are intended for them : they “heard him speak.” Again, no effect is connected with the first utterance, we have to think of nothing but the emotions of the prophet’s own heart. Not so the second time, for the effect is distinctly noted : the two disciples “followed Jesus” (Verse 37). Yet again, the different attitude of our Lord on the two occasions is worthy of regard. On the first He is “coming unto” John, and we can easily imagine the latter overawed by the contemplation of his holiness and

gentleness and majesty. Under this powerful impression he is unable to withhold the exclamation that we hear from him. On the second occasion Jesus is not coming unto him. He simply sees Him "as he walked," as He passed to and fro at some little distance from him. But he now knows who He is. He does not need the glance of his eye or the approaching majesty of his person to produce the effect. Yet the old exclamation springs at once to his lips. Once more, let us look at the exclamation in itself. At first sight it may seem as if climax now failed us, as if the Baptist's words were richer and fuller the first time than the second. In reality the reverse is the case. Let us remember that the *paschal lamb* lies at the bottom of the figure. The words in Verse 29, therefore, "which taketh away the sin of the world," limit it to one aspect only of the benefits conferred by that great sacrifice in which all the other sacrifices of Israel met, and which contained not merely one idea but all the ideas of the sacrificial system as a whole. They bring out the pardon and removal of sin, but nothing further. Let us drop them, and dwell only on the shorter form, "Behold, the Lamb of God," and *everything* that was included in the thought of the paschal lamb comes into view. Above all, we have now the highest, the culminating, idea of the paschal sacrifice—that of nourishment, of food for the life, of the feast in communion and fellowship with God. The second of the two statements, brief as it is, is far wider and more comprehensive than the first. All these particulars make it impossible to mistake the climax in the two parts of the double picture before us. The end of the Evangelist is gained. He has made us dwell upon the one main thought, until it has risen in wider relations, in grander proportions, to our view.

We take another passage, Chap. xii. 1-19. In this passage a double picture of the reception given to Jesus, in the remarkable circumstances in which He was at the moment

placed, at once arrests our attention. It is of importance to observe that, when introduced to us at the beginning of the chapter, Jesus had not only been condemned to death by the highest religious authorities of the land (Chap. xi. 50, 53), but "they had given a commandment that, if any man knew where he was, he should shew it, that they might take him" (Chap. xi. 57). The virulence of his persecutors has thus been brought out with more than ordinary force; and the object of the first nineteen verses of Chap. xii. is to illustrate the fact that, although thus outwardly defeated, He is still the Conqueror; that in the lowest stage of his humiliation, in the midst of danger, under sentence of death, He nevertheless draws to Himself the affection and admiration of men. This object is attained by means of the two pictures, the Anointing in Bethany, and the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem. That these two scenes really form a double scene designed to illustrate the same thought is clear from different considerations. On the one hand, both are obviously an act of homage to Jesus. On the other, Jesus is brought before us in both with the doom of death resting upon Him. More than either of these is to be noticed the fact, that with the thought of the death of Jesus is distinctly combined in both the thought of his power over the grave. In both Lazarus is associated with Him. In the first, he is actually present, and that as one raised from the dead: "Jesus," it is said, "came to Bethany, where Lazarus was, whom Jesus raised from the dead;" "Lazarus was one of them that sat at meat with him" (Verses 1, 2). In the second, Lazarus raised is present to the minds of the people: "The multitude therefore that was with him when he called Lazarus out of the tomb, and raised him from the dead, bare witness;" "For this cause also the multitude went and met him, for that they heard that he had done this sign" (Verses 17, 18). We cannot doubt, then, that the

same leading conception lies at the bottom of the two pictures—homage to One who, at the very instant when He is under sentence of death, is victorious over death; who, while He is just about to die by the malice of his enemies, is able to exhibit the most illustrious trophy of that triumph in which death itself is led as a captive in his train. The sentence of death is upon Him in each of the two pictures: in each He is the Resurrection and the Life. The striking combination of these ideas in both, not less than the homage expressed in both, proves their unity.

While, however, the principles marking the two tributes of adoration are thus essentially one, and while the two may thus be regarded as parts of the same tableau, a little further consideration will shew us that the idea intended to be expressed comes before us in the second at a higher stage, in a much more decided form than in the first. At the opening of the first Jesus is indeed, as we have seen, the selected victim upon which sentence of death has been passed. Before the second opens He has been anointed for his burial (Verse 7). In the first Jesus is only at Bethany, in the quiet village, perhaps in the quiet house, where He had so often rested, and in which friendship and love ministered to Him consolation under his many trials. In the second He has bade farewell to rest, hospitality, or comfort, and has entered upon his last short journey to Jerusalem, where He is to die. Death is nearer now. In the first He is borne witness to by a number of Jews from Jerusalem who had "seen Lazarus" (Verse 9). In the second the witness is borne by a multitude brought together from all quarters who had only "heard" (Verse 18), and yet had believed; and we have but to look at Chap. xx. 29 to see how much more valuable is the latter than the former faith. In the first the tribute paid is a silent act of reverence and love. In the second it is a loud acclaim of

praise (Verse 13), while Jesus Himself comes before us not as a longed-for guest, but as Israel's eagerly expected King (Verse 15). In the first the hope of the chief priests and Pharisees, that they will be able to accomplish their end, has been high (Chap. xi. 57). In the second they begin to despair, and their plot threatens to be baffled: "The Pharisees therefore said among themselves, Behold, how ye prevail nothing" (Chap. xii. 19). In the first many Jews are led to faith (Verse 11). In the second, "Lo; the world is gone after him" (Verse 19). Finally, we are not told that the disciples had any difficulty in comprehending the first; but the second belongs to those higher incidents which can only be understood when light has been thrown upon them by time and the wonderful events of Providence (Verse 16). The climactic relation of the two pictures cannot be mistaken.

For the present we must pause. In another paper one or two other illustrations of the point before us will be taken from the Fourth Gospel before we pass to the Apocalypse.

WM. MILLIGAN.

THE SOURCES OF ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.

IV. RABBINICAL TRAINING.

"I AM a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city, at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God" (Acts xxii. 3). "I advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age among my countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers" (Gal. i. 14). In terms such

as these does the Apostle refer to his education, and the progress which he made as he studied the traditional system of exegesis and the Rabbinical method of expounding and applying Scripture under one of the greatest of Jewish doctors, Gamaliel, the son of Simeon, the son of Hillel; a teacher who was held in such high esteem that men said in later days, that "when Rabban Gamaliel died, the glory of the law ceased, and purity and sanctity died." It is natural, therefore, to look for some traces of this early training in the later utterances of St. Paul. It is impossible that it should have passed away without any influence. In becoming a Christian, St. Paul did not cease to be a Jew. True, he felt that the law was no longer binding on him, that in Christ Jesus there was neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, neither Jew nor Greek; but still, when occasion served, he could conform to the practice of the Nazarite vow, or appeal to the sympathies of his audience by the declaration that he was a "Pharisee, a son of a Pharisee."

It is, then, the object of this paper to collect together a few passages in which it appears likely that the Apostle's words and expressions and methods of reasoning are, to some extent, the result of this schooling; and to shew how, in more than one instance, a knowledge of Rabbinical modes of thought serves to explain or to throw light upon his teaching. It is, of course, well known that the traditional lore of the Rabbis was not committed to writing till the second century of the Christian era, and, therefore, even where there is a striking parallel between St. Paul and the Talmud, it may be argued that we cannot be sure that the two have a common source. But, in answer to this, it may be urged that Rabbinical teaching was eminently conservative, consisting to a large extent of simply passing on the dicta and decisions of earlier masters in Israel; and even where sayings are attributed to par-

ticular teachers, it is far from certain that they are to be regarded as necessarily originating with them. It is much more probable that "no more is meant than that they were common-places in their mouths,"¹ sayings of previous teachers which had sunk deep into their hearts, and which they were accustomed frequently to repeat. Bearing this in mind, it is believed that those passages in St. Paul's writings which bear a close resemblance — whether in thoughts or in idiom—to the Talmud may reasonably be set down as due to the influence of his Master, and that we shall not be wrong in including the training of Rabban Gamaliel among the sources of St. Paul's teaching.

It will be well to divide the passages to be examined into four heads. (1) Allusions to Jewish *Hagádoth*. (2) Instances of Rabbinical exegesis and use of Holy Scripture. (3) Jewish ideas and modes of thought. (4) Jewish phrases and expressions.

I. *Allusions to Jewish Hagádoth*, or extra-Biblical legends. Foremost in this class must stand 2 Timothy iii. 8, "As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses." The Old Testament tells us nothing whatever of the names of the Egyptian magicians. It is, therefore, absolutely certain that here St. Paul is referring to Jewish tradition, which has plenty to say on the subject. According to the Rabbis, the leaders of the opposition to Moses in Egypt were these two men, Jannes and Jambres; and it is further asserted that they were the sons of Balaam, and that they perished in the Red Sea.² It is hardly necessary to say that we need not for a moment suppose that St. Paul stamps with his imprimatur the traditional stories which had gathered round these names. He merely takes the names themselves as those by which the opponents of Moses were

¹ Taylor's "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," p. 28.

² See the Targum of Jonathan on Exodus i. 15; vii. 11; Numbers xxii. 22 and cf. Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chald. et Rabb.*, col. 945 sq.

commonly designated, without troubling himself about the truth or falsehood of the tales handed down about them. But the fact that he thus specifies the magicians by names which we find elsewhere in Rabbinical writings clearly proves his familiarity with the traditional teaching concerning them.

There are two other very remarkable Hagâdoth to which it is probable that St. Paul makes allusion, although the inference is not so certain in these cases as in that already given. The first of these is the tradition which we find in the Talmud concerning the rock from which water was supplied to the Israelites in the wilderness. The legend that was current among the Rabbis on this subject was the following: "The rock from which the water flowed was round and like a swarm of bees, and rolled itself up and went with them in their journey. When the tabernacle was pitched, the rock came and settled in its vestibule. Then the princes came, and, standing near it, exclaimed, 'Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it' (Num. xxi. 17)." To this it is thought that St. Paul refers in 1 Corinthians x. 4, where he says of the Israelites in the wilderness that "they drank of a spiritual rock *that followed them*: and that rock was Christ." There seems to be no adequate explanation forthcoming of the occurrence of the word ἀκολουθούσης as applied to the rock, except that which sees in it a passing allusion to the story which would be a familiar one to the Apostle's Jewish readers; though here, as before, we must be careful not to make him responsible for too much, nor to imagine that, because he thus glances at one point in the legend in passing, he therefore accepts as sober truth all the fantastic elements which surround it. And, as has been well pointed out, "in the instant addition of the words, 'and that rock was Christ,' he shews how slight and casual is the reference to the purely Hagadistic elements which in the national consciousness had got

mingled up with the great story of the wanderings in the wilderness." ¹

The other passage is found in the very next Chapter of the same Epistle. In 1 Corinthians xi. 10 we read that "for this cause ought the woman to have a sign of authority on her head, *because of the angels.*" Why "because of the angels"? Possibly, as Chrysostom and others have thought, "because good angels present at Christian worship rejoice to see all things done decently and in good order;" but possibly, as Tertullian believed, "because of the evil angels of whom we read that they fell from God and from heaven on account of lust" (Tertullian, *De Virg.*, Veland, § 7). Something may be said in favour of the first interpretation; but, on the whole, the last seems the more probable, especially as we know that the difficult passage in Genesis vi. 2 was generally explained by the Jewish authorities as attributing the fall of the angels, the "sons of God," to their guilty love for the "daughters of men." ² "St. Paul could not have been unaware of a notion which is found over and over again in the Talmud, and which is still so prevalent among Oriental Jews, as also among Mahommedans, that they never allow their women to unveil in public lest the *Shedim*, or evil spirits, should injure them and others. To this very day, for this very reason, Jewish women in some Eastern cities wear an inconceivably hideous head-dress, called the *khalebi*, so managed as to entirely conceal the hair. It exposes them to derision and inconvenience, but is worn as a religious duty, 'because of the spirits.' " ³

These three examples of Hagâdoth alluded to by St. Paul are the most striking, but they are by no means the only ones. There is, however, no need to pursue this

¹ Farrar's "St. Paul," vol. i. p. 641.

² See the Book of Enoch, Tanchuma, f. 51-4. Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, c. 34.

³ Farrar's "St. Paul," vol. i. p. 639.

branch of our subject further, as it has been fully dealt with by Canon Farrar in an appendix to his "Life of St. Paul," to which I would acknowledge my obligations, and refer my readers for fuller details.

II. *Instances of Rabbinical exegesis and use of Holy Scripture.* In a previous paper I have endeavoured to shew how thoroughly St. Paul's Epistles are interpenetrated by the Old Testament. The minute acquaintance with its text, and the various methods of applying it which were there pointed out, must certainly have originated in the Apostle's early training in Gamaliel's school. It is not too much to assert that no one who had not been brought up in the Jewish traditional system could have written the Epistles and handled the Old Testament Scriptures as they are there handled. In this respect St. Paul stands alone among the writers of the New Testament. The authors of other books make use of the Old Testament indeed, but their method of quoting and applying it is different, and does not irresistibly remind us of the Talmud, as does St. Paul's. His very formulæ of citation are those which meet us in Rabbinical writings. In Romans ix. 27 we read, "Isaiah crieth," etc., on which Schöttgen in his invaluable *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ* notes "*formula citandi Judaica*," quoting from Tanchuma, "the prophet cries," "Solomon cries," etc. Again, on the indefinite λέγει (He saith) in Galatians iii. 16, he remarks, "*ellipsis Hebræis familiaris, ubi sub אמר subintelligitur הכותב*." To these we may add the following. In 1 Corinthians xiv. 21, a quotation from Isaiah is introduced by the words, "In the law it is written." Thus the prophets are included under the general term "the law," exactly as is done in Talmudical writings, where we sometimes find all Scripture cited as the law; e.g., in Sanhedrin 91 b; Joshua viii. 30; Psalm lxxxiv. 5; and Isaiah lii. 8 are so designated. Romans xi. 2, "Wot ye not what the Scripture saith in

Elijah"? (R. V. margin, Greek ἐν Ἡλείᾳ, cf. Heb. iv. 7, ἐν Δαβὶδ) may supply us with another illustration; for this expression "in Elijah," meaning, in the case of, or in the passage concerning, Elijah, finds a close parallel in the treatise known as "Pirke Aboth," or "Sayings of the Fathers" (iii. 10), where a quotation from 1 Chronicles xxiv. 14 is introduced by the formula, "he saith in David" (ברוך).

But the similarities are not confined to the formulæ of citation. It is frequently the case that St. Paul's methods of argument from Scripture remind us of those which we find in the Talmud; e.g. in Romans x. 6 we read, "The righteousness which is of faith saith thus, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down:), or Who shall descend into the abyss? (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead.) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, in thy *mouth* and in thy *heart*; that is, the word of faith, which we preach: because if thou shalt confess with thy *mouth* Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thine *heart* that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the *heart* man believeth unto righteousness; and with the *mouth* confession is made unto salvation." Here St. Paul breaks up the text of Scripture and comments on it, analysing it and seeing a special meaning in each phrase. Exactly so we find the Old Testament treated in the Talmud. It would be easy to multiply examples *ad infinitum*, but one or two may suffice as specimens. Pereq R. Meir, 9: "In the hour of man's decease not silver nor gold nor goodly stones and pearls accompany the man, but Thorah (the law) and good works alone, for it is said, When thou goest it shall lead thee; when thou sleepest it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest it shall talk with thee (Prov. vi. 22). 'When thou goest it shall lead thee,' in this world; 'when thou sleepest it shall keep thee,' in the grave; 'and when thou

awakest it shall talk with thee,' in the world to come. And it saith, The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of Hosts (Haggai ii. 8)." Pirke Aboth, iv. 3: "Who is rich? He that is contented with his lot; for it is said, When thou eatest the labour of thy hands, happy art thou and it shall be well with thee (Ps. cxxviii. 2). 'Happy art thou' in this world; 'and it shall be well with thee' in the world to come." On this last passage, Mr. Taylor in his edition of this little treatise writes as follows: "It is a characteristic of Talmudic exegesis that as far as possible every expression of Holy Scripture is regarded as having a separate significance. In such texts as the above the *darshan* allows no mere cumulation of phrases for the sake of symmetry or emphasis, but sees distinct allusions . . . to the present and future worlds. Such twofold allusions are continually being pointed out in the Talmud and Midrash."¹ Again, the argument from creation which is employed by St. Paul in 1 Timothy ii. 13 is also found in Rabbinical writings, as may be seen in the notes of Wetstein and Schöttgen. But perhaps the most conclusive instance that can be given is from Galatians iii. 16: "Now to Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. He saith not, and to seeds (τοῖς σπέρμασιν) as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed (τῷ σπέρματί σου), which is Christ?" The Apostle here founds an argument on the use of the singular number. Though the plural "seeds" could not by any possibility have been used in the original Hebrew, as it only occurs with the meaning "different kinds of grain," yet St. Paul sees a divine significance in the fact that "seed" is a collective noun, and that thus the singular number is employed. This is in the closest accordance with the Rabbinical method of interpretation, as may be exemplified from the Talmudical treatise Sanhedrin (iv. 5), where an

¹ "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," p. 78.

analogous argument is founded on the use of the plural "bloods" (דַּמַּיִם) in Genesis iv. "'The voice of thy brother's blood crieth.' He does not say thy brother's *blood*,' but '*bloods*,' his blood, and the blood of his posterity."

Further, we saw in the previous paper to which allusion has been made that, in some cases, St. Paul quotes words from the Old Testament without regard to their original signification, or to the connexion in which they stand. They serve to express his meaning or to illustrate his thought, and therefore he adopts them apparently without considering the primary bearing. This method of using and citing Scripture he may well have learnt from Gamaliel, as it is frequent in Rabbinical writings; and in the Talmud it is used with far wider licence than any on which the Apostle ventures. "Rabbinic citations of Scripture," writes Mr. Taylor, "are not intended always as absolute proof of the doctrines and ideas in connexion with which they are adduced. A citation is often a mere *μνημόσυλον*, and as such may even be the more effective in proportion to the non-naturalness of its application. That citations cannot have been always intended as proofs may be gathered from an examination of a number of instances. But over and above this we have an express statement in the Mishnah in relation to a certain question: '*Quamvis rei nulla demonstratio, indicium tamen rei est*,' " etc. (Shabbath ix. 4).¹ In connexion with the same subject of St. Paul's use of the Old Testament there is one question which deserves more attention than it appears to have hitherto received. It is the following: May not the *form of quotation* adopted by the Apostle sometimes be due to the traditional teaching of the schools? In other words, is it not possible that certain passages of Scripture were remodelled and familiarly quoted by the Rabbis in a slightly different form from that in which they are found in the

¹ "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," p. 56.

text of the Old Testament? Paraphrases of Scripture we know to have been current among the Jews from a very early date, such "Targums" being read in Syro-Chaldaic in their synagogues together with the original Hebrew; and what I would suggest is that the variations from the Hebrew and LXX., which are found in some citations in the New Testament, and which are so puzzling to us, may be due to the employment of a Targum. For instance, in Ephesians iv. 8 the words of Psalm lxviii. 18 are quoted: "When He ascended on high, He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men." There is a well-known difficulty with regard to this citation. St. Paul has "*gave* gifts," where both the Hebrew and the LXX. have "*received* gifts." It is possible indeed to give to the Hebrew word here used (קָרַב) the meaning "fetched," which would serve to cover both the ἔλαβες of the LXX. and the ἔδωκεν of the Apostle. But the simplest explanation of the occurrence of this last word is to suppose that St. Paul was familiar with it in the paraphrase of the Psalms which was ordinarily used by the Jews. And this explanation is confirmed by the fact that the existing Targum on the Psalms (committed to writing centuries later) actually has the word "*gave*" (גַּב), just as St. Paul himself has it. It is impossible to pursue the subject further at present, but sufficient has been said to shew its importance, and to indicate a strong probability that the form of citation chosen by the Apostle, as well as the method of argument from the Scriptures adopted by him, was sometimes due to the influence of his early training in the Old Testament, as he sat "at the feet of Gamaliel."

III. *Jewish ideas and modes of thought.* Scattered throughout the Epistles there lie an immense number of conceptions which we meet with also in Rabbinical writings. Such ideas as these, "the first" and "the last Adam," "the last trumpet," "the third heaven," "Jerusalem which is

above," "the inner man," are all familiar to students of Talmudical works, and prove how thoroughly the Apostle's mind was imbued with the notions and ways of looking at things in vogue among the Jews. Each one of these would be recognized by those of his hearers who had been converted from Judaism as an old friend. They would see it elevated and purified, and invested perhaps with a deeper and truer significance; but, in each case, they would acknowledge that the expression took its origin in the older faith through which they had passed to Christianity. In like manner, when St. Paul says that "if any man is in Christ, he is *a new creature*" (2 Cor. v. 17), or when he speaks of becoming "*a savour from life*" unto some, and "*a savour from death*" unto others (2 Cor. ii. 16), he is employing figures that are of frequent occurrence in Rabbinical works. Nor are parallels wanting to the idea that "covetousness is idolatry," which we meet with in Colossians iii. 5, and Ephesians v. 5, or to the distinction drawn in 1 Corinthians vii. between counsels and precepts, a distinction which—perverted and distorted—has left so deep a mark upon Christendom. But it is not only in the case of conceptions such as those just given that analogous passages may be quoted. Whole texts, and the thoughts which they contain, read sometimes strangely like to maxims in the Talmud. "Godliness is profitable for all things, having promise of the life which now is, and of that which is to come" (1 Tim. iv. 8), contains precisely the same thought as this which comes from the treatise "Pereq R. Meir" c. 7. "Great is Thorah, which gives life to those who practise it in this world and in the world to come." And as St. Paul goes on to say, "Faithful is the saying, and worthy of all acceptance," one is tempted to think that possibly he is quoting some familiar saying which he had learnt from Gamaliel, which reappears in a slightly different form in the Talmud,

as often on the lips of a Rabbi of later date.¹ Again, when he writes, "Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God" (1 Cor. x. 31), we are irresistibly reminded of the favourite maxim of Rabbi Jose, the "pious" priest who must have been almost his contemporary, "Let all thy actions be to the name of heaven,"² while the words of Romans viii. 28, "We know that to them that love God all things work together for good,"³ recalls the saying which comforted the dying Aqiba in his captivity, "All things which God doeth, He doeth for good." Ephesians ii. 13-18, shall supply us with a last example. "But now in Christ Jesus ye that once were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ. For He is our peace, who made both one, and brake down the middle wall of partition, having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; that He might create in Himself of the twain one new man, so making peace; and might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby; and He came and preached peace to you that were far off, and peace to them that were nigh; for through Him we both have our access in one Spirit unto the Father." It is difficult to resist the impression that when St. Paul wrote these words he had in his mind that splendid saying of Hillel, which he may well have heard from the mouth of his grandson, "Be of the disciples of Aaron; *loving peace and pursuing peace*, loving mankind, and *bringing them nigh* to the Thorah."⁴ Does he not seem to say that this rule of life had found its completest ex-

¹ Another theory of the origin of this formula is, however, worthy of consideration; viz. that which holds the sayings thus introduced to have been inspired and well-known utterances of the "prophets" of the Christian Church.

² Pirke Aboth, ii. 16.

³ If the alternative reading given in the margin of the Revised Version be followed, the parallel will be still closer. "God worketh all things with them for good."

⁴ Pirke Aboth, i. 13.

emplification in One who fulfilled it in a grander and fuller measure than any dreamt of by Hillel in his philosophy?

IV. *Jewish phrases and expressions.* A considerable number of instances might be collected in which St. Paul is clearly employing the language of the schools; *e.g.*, the idiomatic use of τὸ πρᾶγμα in 1 Thessalonians iv. 6, is analogous to that of דבר in Pirke Aboth, v. 23, and elsewhere; just as the meaning of σκευός in verse 4 of the same Chapter is identical with that given by the Rabbis to the corresponding word כלי. Other examples are the following: ἡ λατρεία used for "the worship" in Romans ix. 4, as compared with העבודה in Pirke Aboth, l. 2; κοσμοκράτορες applied to the powers of evil in Ephesians vi. 12, as the very same word is applied in an Aramaic dress by Rabbinical writers in the form קוסמוקראטור; ἡ ἡμέρα meaning "the judgment day" in Romans xiii. 12, a well-known Talmudical phrase; and οἱ ἔξω in 1 Corinthians v. 12, standing for those outside the Christian Church in much the same way as הוציאים does in Jewish writings for those without the pale of Judaism. The question how far St. Paul's language is influenced and moulded by such Rabbinical expressions is one which requires further investigation, as it might be found to throw light on the sense of some difficult passages. Two may be adduced as specimens, in which it appears to the present writer that a comparison of Jewish parallels goes far to determine the Apostle's meaning. (1) Romans viii. 19-23. "The earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God. For the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but by reason of him who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. And not only so, but ourselves also, who have the firstfruits of the spirit, even we ourselves

groan within ourselves, waiting for our adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body." The difficulty here is to know exactly to what "the creation" (ἡ κτίσις) refers. It is usually said to embrace what is generally included by us in the term "all creation," i.e., nature animate and inanimate.¹ And while some think that it includes and others that it excludes the human race, the majority of commentators are at one in the view that it is not to be confined to mankind. But there are serious objections to the ordinary interpretation, not the least of which is found in the language of Verse 21, from which it appears that "the creation" is ultimately to be "delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God," a phrase which it is difficult to apply to any but men. If however it be lawful to confine the meaning of κτίσις to rational beings the difficulty of the passage to a great extent disappears; it is easily seen that the "we ourselves" of Verse 23 refers to Christians who are thus distinguished from the heathen world at large; and the whole passage fits in naturally with the context, instead of being an apparently unnecessary excursus on the subject of the future destiny of the irrational creation. In favour of this limitation of κτίσις, two verses of the New Testament may be alleged in which it is not easy to extend its meaning beyond mankind. Mark xvi. 15, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation" (πάση τῇ κτίσει), and Colossians i. 23, "the gospel . . . which was preached in all creation (ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει) under heaven." And when we find that the corresponding Aramaic word הבריה is a standing expression in the Talmud for humanity at large, I think that we shall be inclined to hesitate before rejecting this interpretation of the apostle's language. "The term creatures" (הבריות), writes Mr. Taylor,² "was in common

¹ See Meyer's Commentary in loc.

² "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," p. 52.

use in the sense mankind," and a very slight study of the single treatise of the Talmud edited by him is sufficient to convince any one of the truth of the remark. It is found, for example, with this meaning in Pirke Aboth, i. 13; ii. 15; iv. 4; and in Pereq R. Meir, c. 2, we read, "*Woe to the creatures for contempt of Thorah, for whosoever does not occupy himself in Thorah is called blameworthy.*" These instances from one treatise are amply sufficient to establish the usage in question. Others may be seen collected in the works of Lightfoot and Schöttgen.

(2) The remaining passage is 1 Timothy iii. 15: "That thou mayest know how men ought to behave themselves in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." The closing words, "the pillar and ground of the truth" are almost universally held to be a description of the Church, and it must be confessed that this is the interpretation which the Greek naturally suggests. At the same time it is not the only one possible, for there seems to be no sound grammatical objection against taking the words as applying to Timothy, "that thou mayest know how to behave thyself . . . as a pillar, etc." This rendering finds decided support in the use of *στυλος* elsewhere in the New Testament, viz., in Galatians ii. 9 and Revelation iii. 12, and is, in fact, the earliest known explanation of the passage, being found in the Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne¹ (A.D. 175), a fact which is important as serving to indicate that no grammatical difficulty was felt concerning it by those to whom Greek was still a living language. It may be urged further, that it is a strange mixture of figures if St. Paul in the same sentence speaks of the church as a house, and also as a pillar in it; whereas if he calls the church the house of the living God, nothing is more natural than for him to urge Timothy to shew himself a pillar in it.

¹ Routh's "Reliquiæ Sacræ," vol. i. p. 301, ch p. 296.

(Compare the promise in Revelation iii. 12, where the idea is exactly the same.) Lastly, it is no slight confirmation of the view here taken that the word **תֹּמַךְ**, or "pillar," is not uncommon in Rabbinical writings to denote a champion of the faith.¹ Indeed in *Jalkut Rubeni*, fol. 29, 1, we have an almost startling parallel to the whole clause. Abraham is there spoken of as a **תֹּמַךְ**, while a little lower down Noah is described as **תֹּד'**, which answers to St. Paul's *ἐδρακμα*. This last argument seems to me to clench the matter, and to render the interpretation here advocated little short of a certainty.

But whatever may be thought of the particular instances brought forward, enough has, I trust, been said to indicate the great importance of this branch of study for a right understanding of St. Paul's Epistles. Much has already been done in this direction, and the works of Lightfoot and Schöttgen contain valuable collections of Rabbinical quotations throwing light on the New Testament. Many more may be found in Wetstein. But the store is not yet exhausted. A rich gleanings awaits the editor of a new *Horæ Hebraicæ*, and I cannot conclude without expressing a hope that the rumour is correct which says that such a work is in course of preparation by one of the most eminent Talmudical scholars of the day.

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

¹ See Schöttgen, "*Horæ Heb.*," vol. i. p. 728.

PROFESSOR ZAHN ON TATIAN'S DIATESSARON.

THE results of Dr. Zahn's investigations of which an account was given in the last article on this subject are, as will have been seen, in great measure independent of enquiries into the origin of the Diatessaron of the Syrian church, its authorship and its sources. We have strong evidence for the remarkable fact of a Harmony of the Four Gospels having held in the Syrian church, down to the time of Theodoret in the fifth century, a position equivalent to that of the Gospels themselves in other churches, being read in public worship, treated and quoted as "Scripture," but apparently existing only in Syriac, and consequently all but unknown in the Greek and Latin churches. The fact that, nevertheless, it was transferred into the Latin form which was discovered by Victor of Capua, and is preserved in the Codex Fuldensis, has some light thrown upon it by some interesting facts which are brought to bear on the subject by Dr. Zahn's comprehensive learning. From the recent researches of Dr. Kihn, we know that at the very date of Victor of Capua, the African Junilius who, about 545-552 A.D., was *Quæstor sacri palatii* at the Court of Justinian, translated into Latin for Primasius, Bishop of Adrumetum, in Africa, whom he had met at Constantinople, an outline of an introduction to the Scriptures by the Syrian Nestorian Paul, a disciple and a teacher of the school of Nisibis. Primasius, it seems, had "made it his business to enquire at Constantinople who among the Greeks was distinguished as a theologian; to which Junilius replied that he knew one Paul, a Persian by race, who had been educated in the school of the Syrians at Nisibis, where theology was taught by public masters in the same systematic manner as the secular studies of grammar and rhetoric were expounded elsewhere."¹ Ten years

¹ See Dr. Salmon's art. on Junilius in the "Dictionary of Christian Biography."

before, Cassiodorius was planning with the Roman Bishop Agapetus the establishment at Rome of a theological school after the model of those which had formerly existed at Alexandria, and then existed at Nisibis. Still more remarkable are some observations of Gennadius of Marseilles, in his continuation of St. Jerome's book *De Viris Illustribus*. He explains the omission of some Syrian writers from that book on the ground of St. Jerome's lack of knowledge of Syriac, while there seems little doubt that Gennadius himself was either acquainted with the Syriac originals of certain works which he describes, or that he had some Syrian scholar at hand by whom they were translated to him. In other words, we have a positive instance of Syriac works which were unknown to Jerome being known to a Western writer living between his date and that of Victor. It would seem that one consequence of the Nestorian controversies was to arouse a greater interest respecting the Syrian church, and to increase the intercourse between that church and the West. It is unnecessary to dwell on the report of Isaac of Amida coming to Rome at the beginning of the fifth century, or of some monks who were sent to Rome by Syrian bishops in 495 A.D. But at all events, as Dr. Zahn observes, Syrians were at that time to be met everywhere in the East. Syrian monks settled in Egypt, in Sinai, in Palestine, and in Constantinople; and many a Latin Christian after the days of St. Jerome must have stayed at these places, and may have conversed with the Syrians in Greek. "There appears, therefore," he adds, "no improbability in the conclusion that in the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth, century, some Latin writer, on the basis of Tatian's Syriac Diatessaron and of St. Jerome's Latin version of the Gospels, may have prepared the Harmony which has been preserved from oblivion by Victor." Thus a circumstance which might at first seem to be peculiarly difficult to reconcile with the specially Syrian history

of the Diatessaron does but supply another historic coincidence in favour of the supposition. An interesting relic, moreover, of a Greek Harmony, clearly akin to the Syriac Diatessaron, but with considerable abbreviations and modifications, has been preserved in a work published in 1523 by Ottmar Nachtigall, or, as he styled himself, Luscinius. The Greek original which Luscinius used has been lost, and its very existence has been doubted. But it is clear from the correspondence between Luscinius's Harmony and the Diatessaron that the former could not have been independent of the latter, and equally clear that his Greek original was not derived from the Diatessaron through Victor's Latin version. There are also clear traces of an Arabic reproduction of the Diatessaron, the text of which is preserved in the Vatican library; but which has not yet been duly examined.

There is thus little doubt that we have before us a Syrian Diatessaron which has played a considerable part in the history, not only of that church, but of other churches. Dr. Zahn proceeds to discuss, as a distinct question, what was its origin, and what was its relation to the Gospels themselves. There could, it would seem, be no reasonable doubt, in view of the unanimous tradition on the subject, that it was the work which Tatian is known to have composed. He is the only person in the ancient church who is said to have written a work of this kind—that of Ammonius of Alexandria having been, as Dr. Zahn conclusively shews, entirely different in character; and we have the explicit testimony of Theodoret that the Diatessaron he found current in his Syrian diocese was regarded as the work of Tatian. Professor Overbeck, in order to raise a doubt as to the force of this evidence, is driven to the objection that Theodoret is not a pure representative of Syrian tradition, and consequently that Syriac writers of the middle ages afford the earliest distinct evidence in the

Syrian church of the connexion of Tatian's name with the Harmony. Considering that Theodoret, who was born in Antioch, became bishop of Cyrrhus in 420, and did not die until 457, he must be regarded as at least as good a witness to the Syrian tradition on the subject as could be needed; and that such an objection should be raised is a strange instance of the special pleading with which the results of these investigations are resisted by writers who dislike what they call their "apologetic" tendency. To suppose that Tatian the Assyrian wrote a work called the Diatessaron which has entirely disappeared; and that some one else, no one knows who, wrote another work, also called the Diatessaron, which was in use in the Syrian church and was regarded as Tatian's by a learned Syrian bishop, would be in violent contradiction with the primary rule of practical reasoning, that two causes should not be assumed to exist when one is sufficient. The only reasonable question is whether the Syrian Harmony, as preserved in Ephraem's work, is marked by features inconsistent with the accounts which have reached us of Tatian's work; and it is observable that, notwithstanding a few points of difficulty, this is not, so far as we are aware, maintained by any critic of repute, of whatever school. It seems recognized on all hands that there is nothing in the internal evidence incompatible with the *primâ facie* probability that the work, as we can now restore it, is substantially Tatian's.

Dr. Zahn, however, is not content with this broad and general argument, but in the third section of his work, after presenting us in the second with a reconstruction of the text, he proceeds to enquire what evidence this text itself affords respecting the origin of the Diatessaron. This part of his work is not less interesting than the first, and what Professor Overbeck says in disparagement of it may with better reason be said in its praise, that it reads like a romance. Exception may, indeed, as it seems to us,

fairly be taken to some of the conclusions involved in it, or at all events to the decisiveness of the evidence in their favour; but the case is so complete as it stands that we will endeavour in the first place simply to state it, as presented by Dr. Zahn, and will afterwards consider the objections which present themselves. He begins by enquiring whether the text of the Diatessaron can be shewn to bear any relation to the only two Syriac versions of the Gospels which can have had any connexion with it—the Curetonian Syriac and the Peshito. He assumes that the former of these two versions is the older—a point, however, which Professor Holtzmann, in Pünjer's very useful *Theologischer Jahresbericht* for 1881 (p. 40) describes as still a disputed question among specialists. But if it can be shewn that there is a connexion between the Syriac text of the Diatessaron and that of any Syriac version of the Gospels, and if it can be concluded from such a connexion that the one text was dependent on the other, there is great force in Dr. Zahn's argument that the Harmony would have been drawn from the Gospels, and not the text of the Gospels from the Harmony. If, indeed, the Harmony were the older document, it is possible that the memory of a translator might in many instances preserve almost unconsciously the old phrases; but he would hardly do so when they diverged from the original on which he was working.

Now Dr. Zahn next adduces carefully tabulated instances of the relation between his texts under the following heads:—First, cases in which the Diatessaron agrees, both in substance and expression, with the Curetonian version, as against the Peshito and almost all other tradition; secondly, cases in which it also agrees with the Curetonian against the Peshito, but with the countenance of important Western witnesses, such as Codex D. and MSS. of the Italic version; thirdly, cases in which it agrees with

the Curetonian against the Peshito simply in the expression, or in the form of the translation; fourthly, cases in which it agrees with the Peshito against the Curetonian in matter or form; fifthly, and lastly, cases in which it presents a text independent of both the ancient Syriac versions. From this elaborate comparison, he considers that two results follow with equal certainty: first, that the Syriac Diatessaron exhibits an intimate relationship with the Curetonian version, and secondly that its author possessed a knowledge, which was independent of all Syrian translations, of the Greek text of the Gospels. This second conclusion explains not only the cases in which the text of the Diatessaron is independent of the two Syriac versions, but those also in which it seems to desert the Curetonian for the Peshito; for in the latter class of cases, the change is always a nearer approach to the Greek original. This being the case, it is concluded that the author of the Diatessaron must have been a Syrian who was acquainted with Greek, and that he adopted the simplest and most obvious means for his purpose. He employed as the basis of his work the existing Syriac version of the Gospels—namely, the Curetonian, but compared that version throughout with a copy of the Greek Gospels, the text of which in cases of divergence he preferred, and from which he translated directly. These two texts, however, were closely allied, and their relationship with a third text is distinctly marked. The Curetonian Syriac is more nearly related to Codex D and the oldest Italic manuscripts than to \aleph and B, and this is perhaps in a still higher degree the case with the Greek text which was employed.

From the texts used in the composition of the Diatessaron we pass to the general arrangement of the work, and to the principles on which its author seems to have acted. Without going into details, which Dr. Zahn discusses with his usual fulness and care, it will be sufficient for

our present purpose to notice the main characteristics to which he draws attention. The author appears to accept fully the essentially historical character of the whole substance of the four Gospels, and he exhibits an apprehension of the difficulties which, on that supposition, must be encountered by any such work as he was composing. But, says Dr. Zahn (p. 260), "he has not been overcome by these difficulties, because he adopts no superstitious attitude towards his sources; and he has thus been saved from many follies by which the harmonistic work of later times has been made ridiculous. . . . Where he has to deal with a formal contradiction, he decides in favour of one Evangelist against the other, and he appears to recognize no difference in relative credibility between the four witnesses. For instance, whereas St. Matthew speaks of two blind men at Jericho, and St. Luke narrates the healing of one blind man before the entrance into Jericho, he gives St. Mark the preference over both. He has adopted his scheme of the course of the public work of Jesus . . . principally from St. John. Between the first and third Passover after the baptism of Jesus, a period of two years work is passed. The starting point, the Passover which marks the division between the two years, the division of the second year into two unequal portions by the feasts of Tabernacles and of the Dedication, and the visits to Jerusalem on the occasions of those feasts—in a word, his whole chronological framework has been taken from St. John. But in respect to St. John, no less than to the Synoptics, he goes on the assumption that, whether from ignorance of the historical relation of the facts, or with a view to substantial connexion and instructive appropriateness, each Evangelist has often chosen to arrange events in some other order than that of time. This will be felt to be natural by every one who shares those general assumptions of the author which have just

been mentioned. Yet one is surprised by the boldness with which, on the basis of this insight into the freedom of the composition of the Gospels, the evangelical history is constructed. In this Harmonist himself there is not a little of the freedom which he assigns to the Evangelists.¹ . . . It may be observed that a difference is so far made between the Evangelists that the text of St. John is almost completely adopted, perhaps with the sole exception of Chapter iv. 46-54; next in completeness comes that of St. Matthew, while St. Luke and St. Mark are much more incompletely represented. Moreover the peculiar passages taken from the two latter Evangelists are treated with far less regard to their original connexion. All this may very conveniently be perceived from the index of passages at the close of this volume. The disciples of the Apostles take their place after the Apostles, in accordance with the order observed in those Western witnesses with which the text of the Diatessaron exhibits the closest connexion."²

Notwithstanding, however, this bold method of procedure, the Diatessaron, in Dr. Zahn's opinion, does not exhibit any peculiar doctrinal views or any divergence from the common faith of the ancient church. It is indeed evident, as he says, that the judgment of the East Syrian church was quite favourable on this point; but he goes so far as to maintain that the contrary judgment of Theodoret was extremely perverse. The author has, it is true, sometimes obliterated the Jewish character of the Gospel history by the omission of a few words, but there is nothing anti-

¹ For instance, the cleansing of the Temple, in John ii. 14-22, is regarded as the same event which, according to Matthew xxi. 12 sqq. Mark xi. 15 sqq. and Luke xix. 45 sqq. occurred at a later period. In this narrative St. John is in substance almost exclusively followed, but in respect to the historical position of the occurrence the Synoptics are preferred.

² "Namely in Cod. D and several Italic MSS., Matthew, John, Luke, Mark (see on this point Scrivener, Cod. Cantabrig, p. xxx.). In the Curetonian Syriac the order is Matthew, Mark, John, Luke."

catholic in preferring to represent Jesus rather as the Saviour of the world than as the promised Redeemer and Judge of Israel; and, at all events, "there are no indications that, out of hostility to Judaism, the author refused to recognize the roots of Christianity in Israel." Theodoret, indeed, regarded it as the most conspicuous evidence of the heretical view and purpose of the author that he omitted the genealogies. But Dr. Zahn urges that this omission is at least consistent with a precisely opposite purpose. By some heretical sects the genealogies were regarded as shewing that our Lord was the son of Joseph after the flesh, instead of testifying simply to the fact of his being the heir of the house of David, and the Gentile church of the second century preferred to base our Lord's claims as a son of David upon the fact of Mary's being of the royal house. It is certainly curious, in connexion with this point, that the Diatessaron, together with the Curetonian version, in Matthew i. 19, instead of "Joseph her husband, being a just man," apparently by the omission of δ and $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$, gives the meaning "Joseph being a just man," thus avoiding any statement that he was Mary's husband. Similarly the Curetonian version, in the 20th verse, in place of "Mary thy wife" has "Mary thy betrothed"; and it is doubtful whether the words "thy wife" were in Ephraem's text; while both the Curetonian and the Diatessaron substitute for our text in Matthew i. 25, the emphatic phrase, *Sancte habitabat cum ea*. Moreover, as Ephraem especially notes, the last clause of Matthew i. 24 was in the Diatessaron placed after verse 25, "He dwelt in sanctity with her until she brought forth her first born son, and took her unto him." Ephraem's observation is: "*Præpositere dicta sunt verba. Nam prius sumpsit eam, et postea habitabat cum ea in sanctitate; sed ita legitur: 'habitavit cum ea in sanctitate, et sumpsit eam.'*" There is certainly force in Dr. Zahn's observation that "by this alteration of

order it is as distinctly as possible expressed that Mary did not become Joseph's lawful wife until after the birth of Jesus. The Evangelist exhibits an exactly opposite purpose in his mode of narration. The very point which was essential was that Mary should be Joseph's lawful wife when she gave birth to her son, in order that He might appear among his people as Joseph's son, and therefore as David's. It is not therefore by any divergence of belief in respect to the nature of the person of Jesus that this posthumous Evangelist is distinguished from the four original Evangelists, but simply an unmistakable divergence in his view of the historical assumptions which are essential to such a belief."

Such, then, as deduced by Dr. Zahn from his reconstructed text, were the qualifications and the purpose of the author of the Diatessaron. "He stands on the basis of the Catholic Rule of Faith, and is under the influence of the views which partially prevailed about the middle of the second century, in opposition to representations of Jesus as mere man. With all pious regard towards the gospels of the Catholic Church, he appears as a man of bold genius, and he exhibits in particulars extremely original and ingenious conceptions. He is equally master of the Syrian language, in which his work was written, and of the Greek, in which, no less than in Syriac, he read the Gospels. His Greek text of the Gospels, in this point just like that which was the foundation of the Syrian version he used, was as wild in its character as that which, according to all our witnesses, was presented by most of the MSS. of the second century. At a later period, in the commencement of the third century, his work was introduced into Edessa as a book of the Gospels for use in public worship. Who was the man?"

The reader will at once perceive how completely all the circumstances thus brought together fit into the obvious

reply. Uniform tradition, from the oldest time, points to Tatian the Syrian, the disciple of Justin Martyr. Dr. Zahn proceeds to investigate critically what we know of Tatian's life, and seems to succeed in clearing up some doubtful points respecting it; and the result is the following sketch of his career, with approximate dates. He was born about 110 A.D. in Assyria—that is east of the Tigris; between A.D. 135 and 155 he travelled in the Greek and Roman world as far as Rome, made himself master of Greek culture, and became known as an author while still a pagan. About the year 155 he was converted to Christianity in Rome, became acquainted with Justin, was attacked by Crescens and wrote his *Address to the Greeks*. He held a distinguished position as a learned member of the Church in Rome until Justin's death in 165; but after his master had died he published, in the same city, some heretical works. About the year 172 or 173, when rather more than sixty years old, he went back to Mesopotamia, where he may well have lived for another decade, during which he could have produced the work by which his memory was preserved in the Syrian church. Dr. Zahn's investigations seem to have inspired him with something like an affection for the hero of his story, and he does his best, not without some success, to minimize Tatian's heresy. There can be no doubt, from the statement of Irenæus, that he maintained heretical opinions which, in respect to asceticism, resembled those of Saturninus and Marcion, and the so-called Encratites, and, in respect to gnostic speculation, resembled Valentinus's doctrine of æons. But statements, of which the earliest occurs in Eusebius, representing him as having been the founder of the sect of Encratites are shewn by Dr. Zahn to be open to serious criticism; and it is urged in conclusion that "he never belonged to any sect, and never founded a sect, least of all in Mesopotamia." He simply held peculiar opinions, which were of an hereti-

cal character; and when, after Justin's death, he had thus incurred the reproach of heresy, Rome and the West became distasteful to him. To so stern and passionate a character, such a reproach must have been specially offensive, and he was not a man likely to retract his errors. It was more natural that he should seek a refuge in his native country, where he could serve the cause of Christianity, but retain his peculiarities. To the last, the old pride with which he had boasted to the corrupt Greek and Roman world of his barbarian origin, and of the superiority of barbarian learning, may have remained within him, and may have asserted itself with renewed strength when he found himself reputed a heretic in a church of Greek culture. In a country still heathen, there would be no occasion for putting forward his peculiar views. He might wish simply to bring to the knowledge of his own countrymen, in the most favourable form, the Gospel to which he had submitted himself. A man who had been perplexed by the *προβλήματα* presented by the Old Testament, and one of whose heretical works had treated of them, would be likely to be sensible of the similar problems presented by the four Gospels, and might readily entertain the idea of offering his fellow Syrians a form of the Gospel in which such difficulties would be avoided. "It was," says Dr. Zahn, "a bold conception; but Tatian was a bold man. The general arrangement of the book, the marks it bears of an historical eye and of frequent ingenuity in details of construction, are fully worthy of Tatian. The simultaneous use of the oldest Syrian version of the Gospels and of a Greek MS. corresponds to the circumstances of his life. The character of the Greek MS. which was used by the author of the Diatessaron suits no period better than that of Tatian, and its intimate relationship with the *Itala* is specially intelligible if Tatian brought his MS. from Rome about the year 172. Lastly, if according

to *The Doctrine of Addai* the Diatessaron served as the Gospel in the earliest period of the Church of Edessa, that is the very time at which Tatian must have composed the Diatessaron if he composed it at all. But that he did so, can no longer be reasonably doubted."

Such is the interesting story of the Diatessaron and its author which Dr. Zahn has constructed; and although it may require modification in a few points of consequence, it has cast a new light upon the subject, and in several of its main elements is likely to hold its ground. The eminent scholar de Lagarde, Professor of the Eastern Languages in Göttingen, in a review of Dr. Zahn's book in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, for the 15th and 22nd of March of this year, says he regards it "as proved that the Harmony explained by Ephraem was not composed in Greek but in Syriac; that its author was Tatian the Syrian, of whom we possess a Greek work in defence of Christianity, which is the most interesting of all the Apologies; . . . that in respect to his teaching Tatian did not deserve the reproach of heresy, and that about the year 160 of our era he was in full manhood. This," he adds, "is gain sufficient;" and he withdraws opinions he had expressed in his editions of the Apostolic Constitutions and of the Clementines, to the effect that the citations in them were not drawn from our four Gospels, but from some kind of Gospel-harmony. This may be regarded as an indication of the effect which these investigations are likely to produce in clearing away vague speculations respecting the late origin or recognition of the four Gospels. It will be impracticable for the future to dispute the source of Justin Martyr's quotations; and when we find the Gospel of St. John not only recognized, but made the chronological framework of a Harmony by Justin's disciple, it does not seem too much to say with Dr. Zahn, though it has made some of his rationalistic critics rather angry, that "opinions respecting

the origin of St. John's Gospel, such as have been expressed by Baur, must seem simple madness (*wahnsinn*)."

Nevertheless, we are inclined to think that two objections raised by Professor Overbeck, in the review already quoted, are well founded. Without disputing the close relation which has been shewn to exist between the text exhibited in the Diatessaron and that of the Curetonian Syriac, he observes that it is explicable by another alternative, which Dr. Zahn does not appear to have duly considered. The relationship may arise, not from the one having been employed in the other, but from both having been based on the same original text or type of text. That which we obtain from Moesinger's edition of Ephraem is, it must be remembered, a Latin version of an Armenian version of a Syriac version of a Greek original, and we cannot therefore apply the test of actual verbal agreement. Professor Overbeck's observation seems also a just one, that Dr. Zahn does not offer us any comparison, or at least any sufficient comparison, of the Syriac quotations of Aphraates with the Curetonian text. We can only judge by the agreement shewn to exist between the Curetonian and the Diatessaron in sense and general form of expression; and agreement in these respects—at all events in the former respect—alone can hardly, it would seem, establish anything more than the use of the same original text. The point, it will be seen, is of considerable consequence in its bearing on the history of the translation of the Gospels in the Syrian church. Dr. Zahn observes justly that, if his theory be true, we are furnished with a fixed chronological point in that history. If Tatian wrote his Diatessaron in Mesopotamia soon after 172, and employed for his purpose that translation of the complete Gospels of which we possess a portion in the Curetonian Syriac, "this translation must have been produced . . . not later than about 150 A.D.—not in Edessa, where at that time the Church did

not exist, still less to the east of it, but on the west of the Euphrates." Such a view must be allowed to be consistent with the facts Dr. Zahn has established; but it does not seem to be necessarily required by them. To put a possible case, which retains a great part of his hypothesis: If Tatian, when he returned about the year 172 to Mesopotamia, brought with him from Rome Greek MSS. akin to the Italic version, why should not the Syrian Diatessaron, framed by himself out of the four Gospels, have become current in one part of Syria, and a translation of the four Gospels themselves have become current in another part? Might he even not have been the author both of the translation and of the Harmony? The enquiry, moreover, however interesting in relation to the history of the Syrian church, is not of material importance in relation to the larger questions to which Dr. Zahn refers. There is no longer any doubt that all four Gospels existed in full, and substantially as we now have them, in the time of Tatian, and therefore of Justin Martyr, and this, as Professor de Lagarde says, is "gain sufficient."

The other point on which Dr. Zahn seems to us to have pressed his case too far, and on which Professor Overbeck's criticisms appear well founded, is in his argument respecting the absence of all indications of heretical views in Tatian's composition of the Diatessaron. Putting out of question the disputable point of the genealogies, and allowing that, even if there are some traces of apocryphal additions to the Gospels,¹ they are, as Dr. Zahn says, in the proportion of but one to a thousand, still Dr. Overbeck may have good reason in asking whether the mere design of such a work was not in itself somewhat heretical in character. We have quoted, above, Dr. Zahn's own account of the

¹ As, for instance, the account of the light which shone on the Jordan during our Lord's Baptism, which is also a peculiarity in Justin Martyr's references to the Gospels.

manner in which Tatian dealt with the sacred text—his freedom from any “superstitious attitude towards his sources,” his lack of any scruple in overriding one Evangelist in favour of another, whenever there seemed to him “a formal contradiction” between them; “the surprising boldness with which the gospel history is constructed,” the fact that this Harmonist—this *nachgeborener Evangelist*, as Dr. Zahn is led to call him (p. 267)—assumes “not a little of the freedom which he assigns to the Evangelists themselves.” But what would Irenæus have been likely to say to such treatment of those four Gospels which he regarded as not less permanent, and essential to the nature of things, than the four quarters of the heavens or the four cherubim? Is it not conceivable, after all, that Eusebius, in his οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως, may have meant to say—whether he had actually seen the Diatessaron or not—that he could not understand how a man could treat the four Gospels in such a “bold” manner? We are certainly disposed to think that it would add a touch of consistency to Dr. Zahn’s own view of the history, and would be much more in conformity with the undoubted judgment of Tatian’s contemporaries, if we regarded the Diatessaron as being itself a result and an evidence of the very presumption and self-assertion attributed to him by Irenæus. It may be, as Dr. Zahn says, that he did not go so far as to become the actual founder of a new heretical sect. But such a reconstruction of the gospel history as Dr. Zahn has described might well be the work of a man who, as Irenæus describes him, became “puffed up with the idea of his superiority to others, and established his own type of school.” His Diatessaron embodied in a single narrative so large a proportion of the text of the four Gospels that it might serve some useful purposes, and might naturally be deemed convenient for public reading in church. As Theodoret says, it was recommended by its brevity.

But none the less, alike in its design and in the manner in which the design was carried into effect, it was out of harmony with the views of the Church as to the complete verity and authority of the texts of the four Gospels; and it would seem that Dr. Zahn's investigations have in this respect abundantly justified the judgment of the Fathers. For the same reason Professor Overbeck, in his turn, seems to us to press his argument too far in urging that such treatment of the Gospels indicates a period before they had definitely acquired canonical authority. There is no reason to suppose that Tatian would have felt himself restrained by any such authority; and if any argument on this point can be drawn from his conduct, it would seem significant that none but an heretical writer should have ventured, even in the latter half of the second century, to deal thus boldly with the four Gospels, and that his work should, so far as we know, have been regarded as an heretical production, as soon as its character was fully understood.

There are many other points of interest in Dr. Zahn's volume which we are sorry not to notice. There are two appendices, one on the *Evangeliarum Hierolymitanum*, and the other on *The Doctrine of Addai*. In the former, he urges the probability that a Syro-Palestinian translation of the canonical gospels had been at least commenced before Hegesippus; and in the latter, he maintains, against Professor Lipsius, that *The Doctrine of Addai*, as it has been preserved to us, is substantially the document from which Eusebius quoted in his Church History (I. 13). Into these points we cannot now follow him. But we must not part with him without observing that his book has a special claim to recognition from English readers, in consequence of the acquaintance which it shews with English scholarship, and its friendly tone towards English scholars. On p. 246, he quotes with special emphasis what he calls

“the golden words of the Bishop of Durham in the *Contemporary Review* for May 1875,” to the effect that any one who will read through Irenæus, with due care and impartiality, “will be in a more favourable position for judging rightly of the early history of the Canon than if he had studied all the monographs which have issued from the German press during the last half century.” In fact, Bishop Lightfoot’s works, Dr. Scrivener’s Introduction and numerous other publications, Dean Burgon’s work on the last verses of St. Mark, and—as the present writer may be allowed to notice with satisfaction—the Dictionary of Christian Biography now in course of publication, are all familiar to our author; and that this is no ordinary phenomenon is specially noticed by Professor de Lagarde in the review already quoted. “Dr. Zahn,” he says, “is conscientious enough to procure the works of our English fellow-labourers. In particular, I have observed with great satisfaction that reference is made to Burgon’s book on the last twelve verses of St. Mark—a treatise indescribably attractive, overflowing with bright and warm love to the Church and to science, but of course unknown in Germany”—*in Deutschland selbstverständlich unbekannt*. Professor de Lagarde’s opinion of the degree of acquaintance with the results of English scholarship ordinarily possessed by German writers is none too severe. In but few, for instance, of the many German handbooks on Church history, which always in an introductory chapter give a minute account of previous Church histories, is any notice taken of Milman’s great work, or of that of the late Canon Robertson. In the last we have seen, a second edition published this year of a very good handbook by the moderate Roman Catholic historian Professor Kraus of Strasburg, it is actually stated that no comprehensive English work on Church history has been published since that of Milner. All that he knows of Milman is a French translation of his

history of the first four centuries. Even in the last edition of the admirable Lehrbuch of Dr. Karl Hase there is a similar disregard of English works on Church history since Milner. This neglect of the work of great English scholars is really unworthy of a nation so justly proud of their thorough and comprehensive learning as the Germans, and we welcome in Dr. Zahn a singular exception to the rule. The special characteristics of English and German scholarship are eminently qualified to supplement and assist each other, and perhaps it is by a combination of the two that the great critical problems which engage attention at the present day are destined to be solved.

HENRY WACE.

THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST.

IN an article on *Christ's Use of Scripture*,¹ the present writer referred to the fact of entire passages in the three Synoptic Gospels being almost, though not quite, identical; and he advanced the opinion,—which is by no means new,—that these are extracts from an original Gospel, now lost, which was probably written in the vernacular Hebrew of the time.

One of the most remarkable of these is the account of the Temptation of our Lord. This is given by both Matthew (iv. 1-11) and Luke (iv. 1-13) in nearly the same words, but with one important difference. That difference is the order in which the temptations are arranged by the two Evangelists. They agree in placing first the temptation to use the miraculous power which Christ possessed, for the purpose of supplying his natural human hunger; but Matthew places last the temptation to purchase dominion over the world by doing homage to Satan; while Luke places last the temptation to prove the reality of his Messiahship by

¹ See pp. 101 ff.

casting Himself down from the pinnacle of the temple. Both cannot be right; and the question which is right is of interest, not only in itself, but because it includes that of the nature of the temptations, and the manner in which they were presented to our Lord's mind.

There is a great difference between Matthew and Luke as historians. Luke aims at external verbal accuracy in his reports of our Lord's sayings and doings; he writes down what he learned by careful and accurate enquiry from those who had been eye and ear witnesses,¹ and when information has come to him in a fragmentary form, he gives his readers the fragments as he has received them, without any attempt to piece them together.² Matthew, on the contrary, arranges the discourses of Christ, not in the order in which they were actually spoken, but artistically, with the purpose of shewing the connexion of their ideas, and making one throw light on the other. This does not render him less trustworthy; on the contrary, I fully believe that in his treatment of the discourses of Christ, Matthew was guided by the same Spirit of Christ who inspired the prophets of old to testify of Him.³ If the passages now under consideration were like most other parts of the Gospels, we should therefore conclude that Luke's account was probably the correct one as to the historical fact. Other reasons, however, appear to make it more probable that Matthew's account is absolutely correct. The most we can say of Luke is that he endeavoured to be as accurate as possible, but he could not be more accurate than his informants; there is no strong improbability in the supposition that the authority from which Luke derived his information had in some accidental way altered the true order of the narrative, and the internal evidence of Matthew's accuracy in this case appears almost conclusive.

¹ See Luke i. 1-3.

² See especially Luke xvi. 14-18.

³ See 1 Pet. i. 11.

The saying, "forewarned is forearmed," is evidently true of temptation to sin, and most so of those who hate and fear sin the most. A man like Judas commits sin deliberately and with his eyes open: a man like Peter, as he was at the time of the betrayal of his Lord, may commit grievous sin, even so far as to deny his Lord, under the pressure of sudden fear; but a man like Peter, as he had become many years later, at the time of the controversy at Antioch respecting the obligation of the ceremonial part of the Jewish law, can be drawn into the sin of insincerity and dissimulation,¹ or any other sin, only through perversion of the judgment, that is to say, by a temptation which is not at the time recognized as a temptation to sin at all. Christ was perfectly sinless, and yet his temptations were real; and temptation addressed to a perfectly sinless Being must be disguised. If it is avowed temptation to obvious sin, it is temptation no longer.

The first two temptations, taking Matthew's order of them, were disguised; it was only the deepest insight and the highest purity that could have perceived that they were temptations. The impulse to use miraculous power in order to satisfy hunger was perfectly natural, and did not imply any tendency to sin in the Being to whom it was addressed; and it needed more than human purity, and more than human insight, to perceive that the miraculous powers with which his Father had endowed Him, were not to be used for any personal purposes at all, however natural and innocent. Without discussing the question of the personality of the tempter, we may be quite certain that no voice spoke to Christ, urging Him to turn the stone into bread, except the impulse of his own hunger, and his own filial trust in God. "If Thou art the Son of God," said the tempter; that is to say, "If the voice at thy baptism, which called Thee the beloved Son in whom the Father is well pleased, was any

¹ See Gal. ii. 11-14.

more than a peal of thunder, or a dream of thine own, do not fear to use a Son's privileges in a Father's house." He had no tendencies to sin to which temptation could appeal, but He was here tempted through the innocently human feeling of hunger, and the Son's feeling of trust in the Father.

The second temptation also appealed to this feeling of trust in the Father. "If Thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down from the pinnacle of the temple, and his angels will bear Thee in safety." It may be that He was longing for his work on earth as Messiah to begin, and the thought flashed across his mind that such a public display as this of his faith in God and his miraculous power, would be a natural and happy beginning. But again, with his superhuman insight and purity, He decided that He ought not to anticipate, but to wait for, the revelation of the Father's purposes.¹

The third temptation is more difficult to understand, but the suggestion of the author of "*Ecce Homo*" seems on the whole the most satisfactory that can be made; namely, that it was a temptation to use his miraculous powers in order to overcome opposition to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom.

"His purpose was the salvation of mankind—the establishment of a reign of truth, justice, and mercy throughout the world—and the means to this end which He commanded were nothing less than Omnipotence. Before Him—not at the end of a long series of labours, but within his immediate grasp—rose a vision of universal monarchy, of such power as Cyrus, Alexander, or Cæsar never dreamed of, to be gained without shedding a drop of blood, and employed in realizing the prophets' and the psalmists' de-

¹ Canon Farrar's notion, that Christ when on the pinnacle was already in a position of danger, seems merely fanciful. He was comparatively a stranger to Jerusalem, and went to see the Temple, which was in process of building, and near its completion; and as visitors to the Cathedral of Milan do now, He ascended the pinnacle and looked down and around.

scription of the happiness of mankind under the reign of the Messiah, when war should cease, and all rulers should be just. It does not appear that power for its own sake had any attraction for Christ; but to his infinite love for mankind, and his infinite capacity for sympathy with those who suffered sorrow and wrong, the thought of the use He could make of such power must have been all but irresistibly attractive. Moreover, it was a course that presented no difficulties whatever." "All opposition would have vanished away at the first display of a power that could call down fire from heaven or move mountains into the sea; and He would have earned the enthusiastic applause of the mass of mankind, Gentiles as well as Jews, at Rome as at Jerusalem." "But He decided at last, and during his subsequent career never swerved from his decision, that the desire to take the easier course was a temptation of the evil principle; that the purity and thoroughness of his work in men's souls would be marred if He were to rule by any other power than his character, or to be a king except by bearing witness to the truth."¹

But whatever was the nature of the temptation, it is absurd to suppose that Satan, as Satan, offered a bribe to Christ, as Christ. This would not have been a temptation at all. We are familiar with cases in which resistance to temptation is so much a matter of course that the temptation is scarcely felt. The offer of a bribe to a British officer to give information to an enemy, or to a British judge to give an unjust judgment, would be so impossible to accept that it would be scarcely felt as a temptation; and how infinitely more would Christ be above the temptation of accepting the whole world, and the glory of it, as a bribe to commit treason against his Father! We may be perfectly certain that on this occasion the tempter came not

¹ From "The Scientific Bases of Faith," by the writer of the present paper, pp. 186, 188.

like a roaring lion, but like a deceitful serpent, or rather, transformed himself into an angel of light.

It was in meeting and resisting this temptation that the fact of temptation was first recognized by Christ. For anything recorded to the contrary, the first two temptations, and his resistance of them, appeared to Him as nothing more than the weighing of reasons in his own mind; but, according to Matthew, He recognized the third as not only a suggestion to an unwise course of action, but as a temptation to what his perfect purity and his Divine strength of insight discerned as being in effect treason against God. Then, for the first time, He exclaimed, "Get thee hence, Satan." The temptation was at last recognized; and, as must necessarily be when temptation is addressed to one who is perfectly pure in heart, in the act of being recognized it was overcome. "Then," we are told, "the devil leaveth Him."

It may be thought by some readers that Christ's Divine knowledge made this form of temptation impossible to Him; that He would at once have seen through any possible disguise that temptation could assume. I reply to this, that it is only from what is declared in the New Testament we can know anything about Christ's Divinely human nature; and even the New Testament does not enable us to understand how it was possible for One who was in the form of God to strip Himself of the glory which He had with his Father before the world was, and to take the form of a servant.¹ We only know the fact; how much is implied in that fact is to be learned, not from considerations of *a priori* theology, but from indications in the life of our Lord; and such indications appear to make it certain

¹ See Phil. ii. 6, 7 and John xvii. 5. The difficult expression *ἐκένωσε ἑαυτὸν* is translated by Conybeare, "He stripped Himself of his glory," and this appears the best yet proposed. "He made Himself of no reputation" is much too weak, and "He emptied Himself" is scarcely intelligible.

that He laid down the Divine property of omniscience and took the human condition of partial ignorance. He was really disappointed when He failed to find fruit on the leafy fig-tree; and He was not only grieved but disappointed when Judas, who had been one of his familiar and chosen friends, turned against Him. This view is not free from difficulties; if it appeared to be so, this would be a presumption against it. But the notion that Christ in laying aside his Divine glory retained Divine omniscience, that He recognized the tempter from the first, that He knew there was no fruit under the leaves of the barren fig-tree, and that He appointed Judas to be an apostle while knowing him to be a traitor;—this view appears not so much difficult as impossible. Only a Being capable of ignorance could be “in all points tempted like as we are,” that He might come through the temptations “without sin.”¹ Moreover, his saying that “of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father,”² seems not merely to imply, but to assert that He had parted, at least for the time, with his omniscience.

One of the many services which the Revisers of the New Testament have rendered us is the rejection from Luke iv. 8, of the words: “Get thee behind me, Satan.” These were no doubt suggested to the transcriber by the similar words in Matthew iv. 10, “Get thee hence, Satan”; but they are certainly wrong where they occur, at the end not of the third but of the second temptation; for, as I have been arguing, we may be certain that so soon as the tempter was recognized as such by our Lord, he was defeated and the temptation ended.

The words, “Get thee behind me, Satan,” were spoken by our Lord to Peter, when that disciple began to rebuke—or, as we should say, expostulate with Him—for predicting his own rejection and martyrdom.³ Peter’s thought

¹ See Hebrews iv. 15.

² Mark xiii. 32, and Matt. xxiv. 36.

³ Mark viii. 31–33.

probably was that the Lord's unapproachable majesty of spirit caused a feeling of loneliness which sometimes produced an emotion of unreasonable despondency. When our Lord called him Satan, this terrible rebuke meant that any one who would try to help Him from the "way of the cross" was, even though unintentionally, an enemy. But it seems also a recollection of the temptation on the mountain, of the words: "Get thee hence, Satan," with which He ended it; for—if we have rightly understood the subject—that also consisted in a temptation to avoid the cross.

I will conclude this paper by asking a question which is perhaps impossible for any one to answer with certainty. When Christ said, "I beheld Satan as lightning fallen from heaven," did He refer to the moment when He recognized, and in recognizing defeated, the tempter? This conjecture is supported, though not very strongly, by the words which immediately follow: "Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing shall in any wise hurt you."¹ This appears to allude to the words of the 91st Psalm: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet. Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him"; and these words come immediately after the passage which the tempter quoted when urging Christ to cast Himself down from the pinnacle of the Temple, "He shall give his angels charge over Thee, to keep Thee in all thy ways; they shall bear Thee up in their hands, lest Thou dash thy foot against a stone." But, as has been often remarked, the tempter omitted the clause, "in all thy ways," which teaches that God's angels can be expected to guard his sons only so long as they remain in the ways appointed to them by his providence.

JOSEPH JOHN MURPHY.

¹ Luke x. 18, 19.

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ST. PAUL ON THE TRINITY.

EPHESIANS ii. 18.

IN all inductive sciences, the tendency of knowledge is to run up into the simplest and most comprehensive truths. It may be questioned whether theology is in any degree, and if so in what degree, inductive; but at least it has this in common with other sciences, that its most fruitful and most universal are also its simplest truths. "The Lord thy God is one Lord," "One God and Father of all men,"—all the creeds and confessions of Christendom cannot soar above that highest simplest truth. And yet the doctrine of the Divine Unity needs to be—not supplemented, but—built up out of other and independent truths, if it is to stand complete and foursquare. For notwithstanding the natural recoil from the excessive technicalities of mediæval theology, whether Catholic or Protestant, which has been so conspicuous of late years, yet Unitarianism, though confessedly it embodies a supreme truth, has failed to satisfy the religious needs of the vast majority of Christians; in the words of Dr. Rowland Williams, "It is the affirmation that saves men, and not the negation"; and though in a teacher like Channing the affirmative side stands out clear and prominent, yet in ordinary Unitarianism, especially in England, the negative has seemed the most characteristic and essential. The doctrine of the Trinity is probably seldom taught now in the bare and technical form in which it stands in the Thirty-nine Articles, the Westminster Confession, and the trust-deeds of the older Nonconformist churches; and yet to the student of church history the gradual emergence of this doctrine from the confusion of

the Arian, the Eutychian, and other controversies, presents itself as an instance of the "survival of the fittest." And it would be no unworthy undertaking for the theologians and expositors of the present day to enquire what in the traditional doctrine is accidental and transitory, and what has its roots in the unchanging truth of the Divine Nature.

It is a far humbler task that I propose to myself in the present paper; I wish simply to discuss one of those brief but pregnant sentences of St. Paul, in which, while speaking with a purely practical view, he lets us see incidentally what are those theological first principles on which his mind works, and so teaches us Christian doctrine far more forcibly and more convincingly than if he conveyed it in the form of abstract dogma. St. Paul nowhere lays down in any express form a statement of doctrine respecting the relations of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity was elaborated or developed as a formal and technical statement suited for a controversial age; and probably its best defence is to say that it harmonizes better than any other systematic formula with the unformulated view which St. Paul's utterances imply as the substratum of his spiritual life. It may be said that this method of extracting the doctrine from the ore of the Apostolic writings is only thrusting the difficulty one step farther back; that as Catholic theology rested on an infallible church, and Reformed theology on an infallible Book, we are now trying to fall back on infallible Apostles: but is it not more true to say that in trying to get to the mind of the Apostles we are falling back from the letter upon the spirit, from the authority of an infallible book upon the authority of inspired men? Cardinal Newman, with that wonderful art of meeting an objection by an objection in which he is so great a master, says: ¹ "It is a less difficulty that the Papal supremacy was not formally

¹ Newman on "The Development of Christian Doctrine," ch. iv. § 4.

acknowledged in the second century, than that there was no formal acknowledgment on the part of the church of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity till the fourth." But to this it may be replied, on the principle we are now maintaining, that, if you exclude the Papal supremacy, no passage in St. Paul's writings is in the least affected by its absence; but if you exclude the doctrine¹ of the Trinity, there are many passages which would lose their *motif*, and would sound out of tune.

It is time to turn to the special passage by which these thoughts have been suggested.

The keynote of the Epistle to the Ephesians seems to be the fulfilment of God's eternal purpose of love, in gathering together in one—summing up under one head—all things in Christ. The church, the mystical body of Christ, which He loved and for which He gave Himself, that He might present it to Himself a glorious church, without spot or wrinkle, this is the dominant thought; a thought which to us is not difficult to grasp, if once we have received the revelation of the universal fatherly love of God, but which to a Jew presented the crucial difficulty that it ignored the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, that it made the Gentiles no longer strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, members of God's household; that it taught the Gentiles that they were fellow-heirs and fellow-members of the body. The solution of this difficulty St. Paul found in the Incarnation, a belief which we may almost say is the key to all his theology and all his anthropology. As he told the Galatians that there is neither Jew nor Greek, for Christ is all and in all, so he tells the Ephesians that in Christ Jesus they, Gentiles, who were once far off, are now made nigh by the blood of Christ;

¹ By the doctrine of the Trinity I understand not only the highly technical detail in which that doctrine is presented in the ancient formularies, but the belief in the Godhead of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.

that He is their peace, who hath made both one, having broken down the middle wall of partition ; that He has abolished in his flesh the enmity between nations, religions, classes ; that He has reconciled both unto God in one body through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby ; " for through Him we both," Jew and Gentile alike, " have our access in one Spirit unto the Father."

In our creeds and doxologies we observe the order of the baptismal formula, and speak of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. St. Paul observes a different order ; most commonly he puts the Son first, as in the conclusion of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians he speaks of the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ before the love of God ; and here, as is natural, the mention of the Son through whom, and the Spirit in whom, precedes the name of the Father to whom, we have our access. In like manner, in 1 Corinthians xii., where he is speaking of spiritual gifts, the mention of the Spirit leads on to the Son and the Father : " There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings, but the same God, who worketh all in all." In each of these cases two obvious remarks suggest themselves ; first, that as St. Paul is not defining the mystery of the Godhead, but writing to men of their relation to the Divine, he naturally puts first those Persons of the Trinity, or, to speak in less technical language, those sides of the Divine Perfection, which are in immediate contact with humanity ; and secondly, that these undesigned and therefore all the more weighty indications of St. Paul's theology justify us in asserting that for him the relations of God to man found their natural and adequate expression in " the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." How far it was inevitable, and how far it was justifiable, for the Church in the exigencies of later controversies to precipitate into definitions a belief thus

held in solution in the Christian consciousness, is a question on which there may well be different opinions; certainly in an age like the present, which is even unduly impatient of anything like dogmatic definition, it would be well if our theology could begin to assume once again the more primitive forms under which it first appeared, and could become, as at first it was, devotional and practical rather than controversial.

That it is through Christ that we have our access to the Father is a root-truth more generally acknowledged than taken up and digested by the spiritual organs. It rests upon the words of the Lord Himself, "I am the way . . .; no man cometh unto the Father, except through me:" the way, as Dr. Westcott excellently puts it, "by which the two worlds are united, so that men may pass from one to the other." A way implies the establishment of communication between two points previously separated. That man's sin has separated between him and God is what no one who believes in a righteous God can deny; that through Christ communication has been established would be denied by no professing Christian. Thus far there would be general agreement; but then there arises the question, how and in what sense is our access to the Father through Christ? It may be well to note, first, that it is said to be through Christ Himself—not through his atoning death, nor through faith in Him, though these statements also would be true, but through Himself—that we come to the Father. There is a passage in the Athanasian creed which stands out conspicuously above much that is hard and technical, much that is mediæval in tone, in that much debated symbol; the passage which states that Christ, "although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one, Christ; one, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh" (not, that is, by lowering the Divine Nature), "but by taking of the manhood into God" (by

raising and ennobling human nature).¹ It is, then, by his incarnation, by his taking upon Him humanity to deliver it, that He became our way of access to the Father. And this has an important bearing on the question, much debated some twenty years ago, whether the effect of Christ's sacrifice is to reconcile man to God or to reconcile God to man. In so deep a mystery there must be many sides to the truth, and therefore one would be slow to pronounce dogmatically that no truth is expressed by the words of the second Article, that Christ died "to reconcile his Father to us"; but assuredly the deeper and more Scriptural view is that He lived and died and rose again not to bring God nearer to us, but to bring us to God. As it has been strikingly expressed by Bishop Ewing, "In the first aspect" (viz. that of man reconciled to God) "God is shewn in the character of one coming forth to save others; in the second He is only shewn forth in the character of one coming forth to save Himself." A recent re-perusal of Anselm's "*Cur Deus Homo?*" a book which seems to have formulated the atonement-theology of the middle ages, leaves on one's mind the impression that the Almighty is regarded as having got into a legal difficulty from which He was extricated by the intervention of the Son, and that the "scheme of redemption" was a happy idea² such as might have occurred to a subtle lawyer. But to treat the Incarnation as an afterthought, a skilful arrangement,³ nay even—for so it is described by early writers⁴—as a trick practised

¹ Compare the phrase in the *Te Deum*. "*Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,*" translated in the English Prayer-Book "When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man," but which means "When Thou wouldest take upon Thee man, for his deliverance." See the exactly parallel sentence in Augustine, *De Vera Religione*: "*Ipsa enim natura suscipienda erat, quæ liberanda*": a parallel which seems necessarily to connect Augustine with the *Te Deum*.

² It would be an interesting question to investigate how much of mediæval theology arose from the intrusion of feudal ideas into the relations between God and man.

³ τὸ σοφὸν καὶ τεχνικὸν τῆς οἰκονομίας. Greg. Nyss.

⁴ ἀπάρη τις ἐστὶ τρόπος τῶν. Greg. Nyss. Rufinus speaks of it as a book

upon Satan, is surely an unworthy account of that great mystery. In speaking of the deep things of God, it is wise to go no farther "than Scripture doth lead us by the hand"; but we ought not to forget that St. Peter speaks of Christ as "foreordained before the foundation of the world, but manifested in these last times for us"; that St. John writes of the "Lamb slain from the foundation of the world"; that St. Paul speaks of the Incarnation as "the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest," "the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God," "the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord," "the mystery which hath been hid from ages and generations, but now is made manifest"; "his purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before times eternal, but hath now been manifested by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ"; and so again, "eternal life¹ which God promised before times eternal." The Apostolic writers, therefore, seem to have regarded the Incarnation not as a consequent but—in purpose at least—as an antecedent of human sin; as² "the natural or predetermined end of all God's ways in the creation; . . . not an afterthought of the Creator, but a possible work of God's love prepared for in the very nature of things." And so through Christ we have our access to the Father, because in Him God and man are in contact, because He is the eternal manifestation of God's gracious purpose in relation to his creatures.

Further, this access we have not "by," as in the Authorised Version, but, as the Revised Version has it, "*in*, one Spirit."

baited with the flesh of Christ, by which Satan was caught and drawn up from the deep to his own destruction.

¹ Titus i. 2. The antecedent to *ἡν* is evidently *ζωὴς αἰωνίου* not *ἐλπίδι*. So De Wette, Alford, etc.

² Newman Smyth, "Old Faiths in New Light."

There is a phrase frequently found in early Christian writers, as early even as Origen and Cyprian, "*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*": a phrase which has its parallel in the statement in the Catechism of the Church of England, that the two sacraments are necessary to salvation. These two statements are so diametrically opposed to modern sentiment that it may probably cause to some readers a shock of surprise if I say that, rejecting them utterly in the letter, I yet accept them in the spirit as expressing a most essential truth. It is not true to say that no man can be saved unless he is in professed union with an organized Christian society; it is not true, it would be contrary to the whole idea of the kingdom of God, to say that no man can be saved unless he has been baptized in the name of the Trinity, and is accustomed from time to time to receive the bread and wine at the Lord's table. Such views substitute the material for the moral and spiritual, and make religion to consist in things outward and not in the allegiance of the heart to Christ. But it is quite true to say that the spiritual, like the bodily, life is the life of an organism; that from the Head all the body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and bands, increaseth with the increase of God; that the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, when "they were all with one accord in one place," is an expression of the ordinary law of our spiritual life; that "in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, and were all made to drink of one Spirit;" and that a Christian who "separates himself," "having not the Spirit," though he may have his access to the Father through Christ, yet falls short of the fulness and completeness of the Christian life, because he knows nothing of that "fellowship of the Holy Spirit" which ought to result from the grace of Christ and the love of God. And thus, when St. Paul says that we have our access to the Father in one Spirit, he means that our

relation to God involves a very real and definite relation to each other; that by one Spirit we have all been baptized into one body. And as the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal, so accordingly our access to the Father depends on our entering heartily into that relation of mutual helpfulness and co-operation which St. Paul speaks of in connection with spiritual gifts: "That the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it: or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it." "*Nulla salus extra ecclesiam*"; the appointed way of access to the Father is by the mutual help and comfort, the life of unselfish effort, the "*vivre pour autrui*," in which, and not in any merely selfish object, the gifts of the Spirit find their true use.

In the order of the Divine counsels, it was first revealed to man that his access to the Father must be through the Son. Before Christ came, men had been under tutors and governors, by whom they were to be educated for higher things. By wasting their spiritual substance in riot, by serving vain gods, by wandering in the wilderness of heathenism, or again by the gradual glimpses of light given to nobler souls, they had been led on to a thirst for God, until at last human nature began to come to itself, and to say, I will arise and go to my Father. Then, in the fulness of time, Christ came, that men might receive the adoption of sons. And for awhile this was enough. When He said "I go unto Him that sent Me," sorrow filled his disciples hearts. They could not understand that there was anything better than his personal presence, that it might be expedient for them that He should go away. They were learning to know the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God;¹ they knew nothing of the communion of

¹ "He, the Firstborn of the whole creation, became the Firstborn of his church, and went up into heaven to be the Head and Ruler of that church.

the Holy Spirit until Christ had been by the right hand of God exalted, and had received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost. Thenceforth their access to the Father was in the one Spirit, the Giver of corporate and individual life, by whom they had all been baptized into one body, and by whom the whole body of the church was from that time forth to be governed and sanctified.

And as it was in the beginning of the gospel, so it has been in a measure since. Whenever there has been any time of special spiritual awakening and revival, the first effect has been to concentrate the thoughts of sinners upon the Saviour. The cry "Jesus only" is the natural expression of the feelings of a newly awakened soul, as it finds itself alone in the wilderness with the Good Shepherd. But when such feelings are recognised as a permanent religious condition, they result in a meagre and inadequate theology. And thus the great Evangelical revival, while it gave due prominence to Christ as the way of access to the Father, failed to proclaim with equal force that this access must be in the one Spirit. It produced a religion of individualism. Not that the men whom it influenced failed to work for their fellow-men; the name of Wilberforce is but one among a host of instances to the contrary: but they failed to grasp the idea of the Spirit working in and through the Christian society, and so the church life of their day was somewhat weak and meagre. It may be that it is the special work of our day to supply this defect; to lay hold on social problems, social reforms, and to claim them boldly as the sphere of the Church: to declare that Christianity, far from having nothing to do with politics, is really the essen-

and to that church He, in the unity of the Father, gave, and evermore gives his Spirit, to be the Source of her life and power, of her faith and wisdom and holiness. Upon that church the Spirit bestows all the graces of the kingdom of heaven, sanctifying that blessed communion of the faithful, who have found the forgiveness of their sins through the atoning sacrifice of the Saviour."
—Hare's "Mission of the Comforter," p. 32.

tial factor in all political relations : to assert boldly that all public work is church work. If so, it is well that we should remember that such an aspect of religion has its special danger ; that if the broad free work of the Spirit is in any way made independent of, or a substitute for, the individual allegiance of the heart to Christ, it will not bring us to the Father ; for no man cometh unto the Father but by Christ.

To the Father. This is the only true end. Any system of belief or of worship which stops short of this, which does not bring the believer or the worshipper to the Father, which regards the mediation of Christ or the operation of the Spirit as more than means to the great end, is substituting the temporary in place of the eternal. For the time will come when the work of Christ shall be finished, when the dispensation of the Spirit shall be completed, and when "the Son also Himself¹ shall be subjected to Him that did subject all things to Him, that God may be all in all."

R. E. BARTLETT.

THE VEIL AND WEB OF DEATH DESTROYED BY CHRIST.

ISAIAH xxv. 7, 8.

WE have yet much to learn as of all other branches of Biblical study, so also in that of Prophecy, and especially as to its mode or modes,—how the afflatus fell and worked, how it was induced, how it acted on the mind of the

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 28. Much has been discussed as to the subject of *ὑποταγήσεται*, whether it is the Humanity of Christ, or the Divine Son by "communicatio idiomatum," predicating of his whole nature what strictly refers only to his Humanity. Comp. Liddon's Bampton Lectures, p. 310; Stanley's Corinthians, ad loc. Also a striking and characteristic passage in Irving's sermon on "God our Father," Works, vol. iv. p. 268-9.

recipient; how the Spirit came and went as it passed from man to man. We are told, indeed, that at times the Prophets, who for the most part were simply impassioned preachers of a pure and high morality, saw persons and events which were still far off, as they peered into the years to be and strove to divine what they would bring forth; that their souls were lifted and driven on toward the future as the bellying sail is filled and impelled by the wind; and that the wind of the Spirit blew where, and as, it listed; *i.e.* was an influence—not above all law, but an influence—of which the law could not be traced and formulated.

All this may seem sadly indefinite, and may convey no clear impression to our minds, though little more than this is vouchsafed us. We may infer from it, however, and from what the Seers tell us of themselves, that, at times, there rose before their eye—that “inward eye which is the bliss of solitude”—images and pictures of things to come which were now as bright and as indefinite as exhalations of the dawn, and now so lustrous and splendid as to be dark through excess of light, and now so dim with shadows or so big with doom as to excite a blind and blinding dread; and that in proportion as the prophet was of a nimble, eager, and forward-looking spirit, or in proportion as he was familiar with spiritual things and could trust his moral intuitions, he was carried on and up toward them, driven and impelled by the Spirit by which he was inspired, till he could say, “That is true,” or “This must surely come to pass.”

But not only do we find a great difference, in range of vision and faculty, in different prophets; we also find differences in the same prophet at different times,—differences which apparently answer to his changes of position and mood. There is, for example, *one* sacred, tender, yet august and victorious Figure which rises, in the dim or

bright distance, before them all; but at one time they can see in the Messiah only the signs of conquest and triumph, and He stands before them the universal and omnipotent King; while, at other times, they can detect in Him only the traces of agony, rejection, shame, and He stands before them the Man of Sorrows and the Acquaintance of Grief. Yet *all* they see is true, though each one of them, so far from seeing the whole truth or being able to harmonize and co-ordinate the contents of his several visions, may see only what he has in himself the power of seeing at the moment, and though this power fluctuates with his changing moods and points of view. They saw but in part, and spoke but in part; but the event justified and fulfilled—nay, transcended—all that they had foretold.

But what is very curious is that most of the Hebrew Seers saw in their Messiah *the Victor over death*. And what makes it curious is that the Jews did not, as a rule, look forward to a life beyond the grave. The life eternal, the life which, as a mere incident in its career, can match itself against death and conquer it, was unknown to them; they were not conscious of it even when they possessed it. To only a few rare souls was this great truth, this great hope, revealed, and that only in their rarest and most exalted moments. Above the earth on which they worked and worshipped, there rose now and again in their sky stars which spoke of a fairer and happier world than this; and we, who have travelled far since then, as we look back, may see these faint and distant points of light gather together and group themselves into a constellation of no mean force and lustre. But they, most of them, seldom looked up from their toil; and if, in their rarer moods of leisure and speculation, they saw the star for a moment, they hardly knew what it portended. To obey the commandments of God, to render the service He demanded of them, and to enjoy his favour, here and now,

was enough for them. Even the prophets themselves were mainly taken up either with this present life, with its urgent tasks and duties; or, if they travelled beyond it, it was the future life of the nation on earth on which they speculated, and on the discipline by which it was to be purified and broadened till it embraced the whole family of man. But when they looked forward to the advent of the Messiah, all the horizons of their thought were enlarged. A new and wellnigh intolerable splendour suffused their vision of the future. *He* at least would be worthy of eternal life, if they were not—of an immortality of conquest and rule. No weapon formed or bent against *Him* could prosper, not even the swift dart or keen trenchant blade of death itself. Whatever might change and perish, He must remain, to be for ever the Lord and Friend of men.

And this prevision of immortality does not seem to have been, as we might easily take it to be, a mere inspiration, a secret revealed to them by the Spirit of all wisdom and knowledge. Apparently, it was also the result of a logical process, an inference from moral facts with which they were familiar. For all the prophets held that the Messiah would come to redeem men—first the Jew, but also the Gentile—from their sins, to establish them in the service and to draw them into the family of God. But death is simply the wage and fruit of sin. To redeem from sin is, therefore, to abolish death, to pluck it up by the root, to cut it off at the fountain-head. *This* appears, so far as we can trace it, to have been the foundation of their hope in the Christ as the Conqueror of death. And, hence, in proportion as they were sure that He would save men from their sins, they were the more fully persuaded that, in overcoming sin, He would also overcome and annihilate death.

No one of the goodly fellowship has given a nobler

utterance to this animating and sustaining hope than the prophet Isaiah, in the words before us: *And He shall destroy in this mountain the veil which veiled all nations, and the web which is woven over all nations; He shall destroy death for ever.* We need not too curiously inquire whether in some "vision splendid" he saw the day of Christ's resurrection from the dead afar off; whether the mode and manner of that august triumph over death was present to his view; or whether he was "attended" by this vision throughout his whole subsequent career, and gradually inferred from it the hope that as when Christ died, all would die in Him, so also when Christ rose, we should all rise with Him into the power of an endless life. Such questions as these are wholly beside the mark; and those who conceive of the Prophet as poring over a sketch or map in which future events were set forth in full outline, if not in every detail, wholly mistake the very nature of prophecy. It is surely enough for us to know and if it be not enough, we cannot as yet know more than this; that in his highest and most inspired moods Isaiah, like his brethren, was uplifted in spirit till he saw and knew that, in *some* way and by *some* means, the Christ would take away the sin of the world, and thus redeem all men from their bondage to death and corruption.

The form in which he here casts this great hope—which to him at least, was also an irrefragable certainty—is very fine. He speaks of death with the noble resentment and indignation which has been felt by all who were conscious of a true life in themselves; speaks of it as *a veil* which dims the perceptions of men, or even blinds their eyes to facts which it is essential to their welfare that they should know; and as *a web* in which their active powers are entangled and paralysed; and he declares that in the day on which God, instead of asking

feasts and sacrifices of men, shall Himself provide a sacrifice and feast for the world, this blinding veil, this fettering and thwarting net, shall be finally and utterly destroyed: "*He shall destroy death for ever.*"

How true these figurative descriptions of death are to human experience, what a fine poetic insight and firm imaginative grasp they disclose—as of one with both eye and hand on the fact—is obvious at a glance, and becomes the more obvious the more we meditate upon them. One of the subtlest Italian intellects has said, indeed, and the greatest poet of Germany adopted the saying, put it into circulation and made it current coin, that "they are dead for this life even who have no hope of another!" A fine saying, and yet not absolutely and in all cases true. For there have been men who, upheld by no hope of immortality, have nevertheless lived very pure, high, and serviceable lives, disdaining both the lures and the terrors of the flesh and of the world. But it surely must be admitted that a life which is to endure for ever should be laid out on a much larger scale than that of the creature of a day; and that if a man who is to live for ever confine his scope and aim within the narrow limits of a day, his life must of necessity be ill-arranged, and so ill-arranged, as to be unworthy of a creature with a destiny so high. If, while death is really no more than an early incident of his career, he mistakes it for the close of his career, it surely must be admitted that he is blind to facts which it much imports him to know; and if blind, then in large measure enfeebled and paralysed. For, always, the veil which darkens the eyes is also a web which entangles the feet, as we have only to watch the motions of any blind man to know. Failing sight and impaired activity go together of necessity; while blindness involves at least a partial paralysis of all the active powers. As to be without God is to be without hope, so to be without the hope of immortality is to suffer a mental eclipse

which cannot fail to limit our scope and impair our moral energies.

Proof would be easy, if proof were requisite. We have only to consider the moral conditions, the moral collapse, of men and nations, from whom the future life has been hidden, or over whom it had no practical power, to learn how terribly, in the absence of this hope, the moral ideal is degraded and the moral energies enfeebled. We have only to consider the low ethical estate of those in whom the conception of that life has been dim, inaccurate, misleading—as, for instance, in ancient Greece and Rome—to learn how cruelly it narrows the outlook of men and perverts their aims; to learn how true is the implication of St. Paul, that where immortality has not been brought to light, there even *life* has not been brought to light. I am far from denying, indeed I have just admitted, that even men to whom this life is all have risen, by a marvellous and most admirable feat of wisdom and natural goodness, into the conviction that to be wise is better than to be rich, to be good better than to be wise, to live for others better than to live for oneself. But not only are such men as these rare and heroic exceptions to the general strain, but even they themselves, admirable as their spirit may be, can know no settled cheerfulness, no abiding peace. Human life is and must be full of *injustice*, as well as misery, to those who do not believe in a hereafter in which all wrongs are to be righted, all sorrows turned into joy, all loss into gain. And when they bury their dead out of their sight—the mother that bore them, the child who has been the stay and charm of their lives—with what bitter and hopeless pangs must their hearts be torn! how horrible must be the darkness, unbroken and unrelieved, which settles down upon them!

Nor even now, now that Christ has abolished death and brought life and immortality to light, is there any misconception of this divine achievement into which we fall that

does not become a veil, dimming our eyes, and a web, entangling our feet. Those, for instance, who, while professing to entertain this great hope, practically put it away from them, and who therefore sacrifice the future to the present; those who are mainly occupied with pursuits which cannot be carried on beyond the grave, in amassing gains which they must leave behind them when they die, in seeking pleasures which absolutely unfit them for the joys of the world to come;—is not the veil still on their hearts, the web about their feet? Are they not leading a life wholly unworthy of rational and immortal creatures? Must not their most cherished purposes be broken off? Are they not developing energies and capacities which will be worse than useless to them by and bye, and neglecting those which would be of the most sovereign use and worth to them along incomparably the larger spaces and in all the more momentous issues of their career? Are they not blind, or at least purblind, to the very facts it most concerns them to know? Are they not enfeebling, if not paralysing, themselves for the duties it most concerns them to do?

So, again, in a less but sufficiently obvious degree are those who so misconceive of life and death as to sacrifice the present to the future; who miss or forego all the sweet and wholesome uses of the world, because they have not learned, what yet the Gospel plainly teaches, that wisely to use and wisely to enjoy this present world is the best of all preparations for the world to come.

And even those who, despite the Gospel teaching, *will* think of dissolution as death rather than as victory over death, or as separating and alienating them from the dear ones of whom they have lost sight, rather than as bringing their "lost ones" nearer to their true life and binding them to them by closer because by invisible and spiritual ties,—even these have their eyes still dimmed by the veil which Christ came to lift, and their feet still entangled in the

net from which He came to deliver their feet ; and are enfeebling themselves by cherishing vain regrets and baseless apprehensions, when they ought to be bracing themselves for a more resolute pursuit of the life which knows no change and admits of no separation.

For all these Christ has in some measure, though in varying measure, destroyed death in vain.

"But has He really destroyed death?" they may ask,—some in self-defence, and some as desiring the comfort which such a faith in Him would bring them. "Has He really destroyed death for ever, and how may we know and assure ourselves that He has destroyed it?"

Yet that is a question which no one who in any sense sincerely believes in the teaching of the Bible, and especially in the teaching of the New Testament, ought so much as to ask. For Isaiah, whom we may take as a representative of the Old Testament, plainly assumes that, when the Messiah came, He must, by his mere coming, destroy death for ever ; and that when He destroyed this black veil and web, He would, by that very act, "wipe the tear from every face, and take away the reproach of his people throughout the whole earth." And the New Testament plainly and constantly avers that the Christ, when He came, took away the sin of the world, and in taking away sin abolished that death which is the consequence of sin. Death, as a mere phenomenon, was in the world before sin ; and therefore, as a mere phenomenon, it may and does remain in the world after sin has been taken away. But are we, who have discourse of reason, even if we have not the more piercing insight of faith, such victims of the visible and the apparent that we cannot distinguish between substance and phenomena, between the mere act of dissolution, which seems to be the inevitable condition of higher spiritual development, and all that makes death really death to us, all that makes it terrible and hateful to us?

I do not know that physical death ever had any actual power over men ; that it was ever more than a necessary stage in the discipline and development of the spirit. But through their ignorance, through their imagination, through their fears, it nevertheless had a very real power over them, and came to be confounded with moral death and with judgment. This moral death Christ confessedly came to destroy. And if, for us and for all men, He has destroyed it, so that it can no longer have more than a temporary and passing existence and must in the end be swallowed up of life, why should we fear the mere shadow of it which falls upon the spirit only to detach the spirit from the hindering and thwarting flesh? This, "Shadow, cloaked from head to foot, keep the keys of all the creeds"! Not he! but the Life behind and beyond it, the Life so bright, so intense, so awful and severe, that, while we contemplate it with eyes of flesh, it must seem to us dark through excess of light.

Now of this victory over all that is worthy to be called death Christ has given us two proofs on which our faith may lean ; one in his transfiguration, and the other in his resurrection from the dead.

In the Transfiguration—when "his face did shine as the sun and his very garments became white as the light," and He talked familiarly with Moses who died, as the rabbis have it, "by the kiss" and "in the embrace" of Jehovah, and with Elijah whose ardent spirit was caught up to heaven as in a chariot of fire—He has shewn us what is the natural and proper close of a life like his; that sinless life in which we share if we are one with Him. He has shewn us that the sinless and therefore eternal life is capable of transmuting to its own quality all the other and inferior elements of our humanity, and of rising, as by a natural sequence, into the full splendour of a life that is wholly spiritual and pure. And at times, in certain

moods, no doubt, it seems to us as if *this* would have been a grander and more triumphant close to his career than the death of the cross and his reappearance beyond the gulf; we are prone at least to wish that this might be the close and triumph of the spiritual life in ourselves and in those whom we love. Yet would it have been so great a triumph for Him as that, while stooping to death, He should strike death down? Would it so much have assured our faith in Him as that He should share the common lot of man and yet triumph over it; that He should pass into that undiscovered country from whose bourne—as we pathetically and yet not quite truly complain—no traveller has returned, and then Himself return from it, to tell us what it is like, and bearing the spoils of conquest and possession in his hands? And shall we shrink from following Him, whithersoever He may lead, or fear to go wherever He has been? May there not be a purifying and ennobling discipline in death, in this passage from life to life, which neither we nor those dearest to us could endure to have crowded into a moment of transfiguration? To my mind there has always been a suggestion of awe in the Scripture which tells us that even Elijah was saved from the common lot *so as by fire*; and surely the friends of Enoch, when “he was not, because God took him,” must have suffered more from that sudden and mysterious disappearance than had they been permitted to lay him with his fathers.

No: *by death* Christ conquered death; and the way that was best for Him is surely best for us. By this visible triumph over the last enemy He has given assurance unto all men that death has lost its power and sting; that instead of a dark prison-house, or a joyless haunt of unsubstantial shadows, or an arena of endless strife and hopeless torment, it is but a gate and pathway into more life and fuller.

Christ has destroyed death for ever. The veil that veiled all nations has been lifted from their eyes; the web in which all nations were enmeshed has been stripped from their limbs. Christ has brought life and immortality to light, so giving us a lively hope which no fear of death can quench. In the light of this great hope, if only it shine in full splendour upon us, this narrow space of life extends beyond all reach of view, shoots into everlastingness. Nor only so; this hope raises, as well as extends, our life, changing it from a scene of travail and defeat into a happy and triumphant pursuit of the noblest and highest aims. Nor only so: but grasping the whole compass and extent of human life, and no longer seeing it only in its nearer and sadder part, we can bear with and vindicate all the wrongs and miseries of time, knowing that before all is done every wrong will be righted, every sorrow turned into joy, every loss into gain. Nor only so: but looking beyond the gulf and chasm of death to the fair life which it cannot break or interrupt, and comprehending what great issues hang on a faithful use of our present opportunities and means, the life we now live in the flesh is invested with a new yet inspiring solemnity, and duty, through its whole range and concord, becomes at once more sacred, more hopeful, and more attractive. And so, every way, our whole soul, with all its powers and possibilities, is bound more firmly to the service and throne of God.

S. Cox.

THE SOURCES OF ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.

V. CLASSICAL TRAINING.

I. IN considering how much St. Paul owed to his early schooling, and what traces exist in his writings of any general culture, and of what is commonly understood by a classical education, it is natural to begin with a reference to the three quotations from Greek poets to be found in his Epistles and speeches.

These are well known, and are pointed out in every Commentary.

(1) The first occurs in 1 Corinthians xv. 33, and consists of a line from the "Thais" of Menander, containing the moral warning, "Evil communications corrupt good manners" (*φθειρόουσιν ἡθὴν χρῆσθ' ὁμιλίας κακαί*), which is supposed to be a citation by Menander from a lost tragedy of Euripides.

(2) The second may be seen in the Epistle to Titus (Chapter i. 12). It describes the character of the Cretans in the words of "one of themselves, a prophet of their own," viz. Epimenides, a Cretan poet who flourished in the sixth century before Christ: "Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons" (*Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί*).

(3) The last is in some ways the most striking of the three, although at first sight we may be inclined to regard it as of the smallest importance. It consists of half a line of hexameter verse, embedded in St. Paul's speech at Athens (Acts xvii. 28), "Certain even of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring" (*Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν*). The words in question are found in two separate ancient writings, a hymn to Zeus by Callimachus and the *Phænomena* of Aratus; and it seems clear that the Apostle was aware of this, and had both writings in his mind, because he notices that the passage occurs not in one but

in "certain" (*τινες*) of their own poets. But Callimachus was a Lycian, and Aratus came from Soli of Cilicia, near St. Paul's own city Tarsus. How then could he, when addressing an Athenian audience, speak of these men as poets of their own? The answer lies in the fact that both the poets in question were Stoics, and we are expressly given to understand that a considerable number of St. Paul's hearers consisted of members of this particular philosophical school. Hence, as Bishop Lightfoot has pointed out, there can be little doubt that by *οἱ καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιῆται* he means the poets belonging to the same school as his Stoic audience.

These are all the direct quotations from Greek poets that are adduced. Their value has been very variously estimated, and it is as easy to exaggerate their importance as it is unduly to depreciate their significance. On the one hand, they are sometimes pointed to triumphantly as conclusive evidence of an advanced classic culture on the part of the Apostle; while, on the other hand, we are told that they furnish "very little proof of anything more than the most superficial acquaintance with Greek writers."¹ The truth probably lies midway between the two extreme views. From the mere fact that St. Paul quotes some three lines of Greek poetry it is hardly satisfactory to argue that he must have possessed an intimate knowledge of this literature. But, when we remember how very little scope the character and object of his writings afford for such allusions, and yet how singularly apt are at least two out of the three quotations, we see that it is not fair to conclude that his knowledge was so limited and superficial as some would persuade us. That the Apostle was able to quote a Cretan poet in writing to one who was ministering in Crete, and Stoic poets in addressing an audience largely composed of adherents of that philosophical school, may fairly be set

¹ Farrar's "St. Paul," vol. i. p. 681.

down as a hint of a more extended acquaintance on his part with the classics than the actual number of the citations might lead us to infer.

II. There is, however, another and a more important class of classical allusions in St. Paul's Epistles, which is often overlooked, but to which the third of the poetical quotations forms a natural introduction. It consists of those references to Greek philosophy, its ethics and language, which imply that St. Paul in his early years, before his conversion to Christianity, must have made some study of the tenets of at least one important school, that of the Stoics. This is of itself only what we might expect. Tarsus was at that day one of the most famous and important seats of Greek learning, hardly inferior to Athens or Alexandria. Almost every school of philosophy was represented there, and among them none more largely or more ably than that of the followers of Zeno, who took their name from the Porch (*στοά*) in which their master taught. It is said to have been customary for students thus trained in the university of Tarsus to finish their education elsewhere, and hence it may be conjectured that the Apostle's training in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel was supplementary and additional to some earlier teaching in the more liberal school of Hellenic culture in his own city.

There are indeed one or two slight traces in his writings of an acquaintance with the works of Aristotle. One passage of the "Politics" has been supposed to have left its mark on two of the Epistles of the New Testament, viz. Pol. III. xiii. 14, where it is said of men eminent for virtue and wisdom, *κατὰ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσι νόμος*. It is certainly hard to believe that the coincidences are purely accidental, when we find in Galatians v. 23 the very same words with which the passage opens, "Against such is no law" (*κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος*), and in Romans ii. 14 words which closely resemble

the last clause, "these having no law are a law unto themselves" (*ἐαυτοῖς εἰσιν νόμος*), a statement which also recalls a passage in the fourth book of the Ethics, "the refined man and the 'gentleman' (*ἐλευθέριος*) will bear himself thus, as being a law to himself" (*οἷον νόμος ὦν ἑαυτῷ*. Nic. Eth. IV. viii.).

But far more numerous and more conclusive are the parallels of thought and language between St. Paul's Epistles and the works of the Stoics. So close at times indeed is the similarity between the writings of the Apostle and those of Seneca, the greatest representative of this philosophical school in that age, that some have inferred that the Latin writer must have had some knowledge of the New Testament, or even a personal acquaintance with St. Paul himself during the years of his Roman captivity. Such theories have been shewn by Bishop Lightfoot¹ to be entirely baseless; and the true account of the similarities between the two writers which undoubtedly exist is probably that which refers them to identity of origin, and, taking the language of Seneca as representing the teaching of the Stoics, sees in the parallel passages of St. Paul a reflection and reminiscence of the teaching of the same philosophical school.

It is an interesting subject of enquiry how far the ethical system of the Stoics corresponds with and anticipates that of Christianity, and how far the two are dissimilar and contradictory. But to enter on this now is entirely alien to my present purpose. All that I would urge here is that St. Paul, having received some early training in Stoic principles, found in the language and teaching with which he was then familiarized thoughts and expressions and figures to which he gave a place in the Christian system in forming which, under God's providence, he had so large a share. The figure is often transfigured and glorified.

¹ "Philippians," p. 289 seq.

The expression receives a new force and a higher meaning. The thought is made the basis of thoughts still higher. But it can often be traced back to its source, and shewn to have had a place originally in the teaching of that school to which some of the noblest of the "seekers after God" among the heathen belonged.

On one occasion only, so far as we know, was St. Paul during his ministerial life brought into close connexion with Greek philosophy. This was on his visit to Athens in his second missionary journey. Here he not only "reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews and the devout persons," but also took his stand "every day in the market-place," and argued with them that met him. "And certain also of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers encountered him." In this sentence the Apostle of the Gentiles and the representatives of Greek learning and culture are brought face to face, and the question naturally arises how far was St. Paul able to enter into their position, and thus qualified to meet them on their own ground. For the answer to this question we must turn to his own speech on Mars' hill, which betrays an intimate and accurate knowledge of the tenets of these schools; so much so indeed that it is said by one writer¹ to be "nothing but a statement of the Stoic morality, with the doctrine of Jesus Christ and the resurrection superadded." This perhaps is going rather too far, but it is impossible to read the speech without being reminded at every turn of the teaching and characteristic language of that school. "God," says St. Paul, "that made the world and all things therein, he, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands." In almost identical terms Seneca reminds us that "the whole world is the temple of the immortal gods,"² and that "temples are not to be built to God of stones piled on high. He must be consecrated in the heart of every man."³ "Neither," proceeds the

¹ Professor Mahaffy.

² *De Benef.* vii. 7.

³ *Fragm.* 123.

Apostle, "is he served by men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing he himself giveth to all life and breath and all things . . . He is not far from each one of us, for in him we live and move and have our being: as certain of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring." In similar terms we are told by Seneca that "God wants not ministers. How so? He Himself ministereth to the human race: He is at hand everywhere and to all men."¹ "God is near thee; He is with thee; He is within."² How different is this from the teaching of the Epicureans, who referred the origin of the world to a fortuitous concourse of atoms, and removed the gods far from men, denying that they troubled themselves in any way with mundane affairs! On this point, at any rate, St. Paul decides in favour of the Stoic rather than his rival. "Being then the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver or stone, graven by art and device of men." These are the Apostle's next words, to which Seneca shall once more supply a parallel: "Thou shalt not form Him of silver and gold: a true likeness of God cannot be moulded of this material."³ Here the two teachers part company, for St. Paul proceeds to teach the need of repentance, the future judgment, and the resurrection, doctrines which would be "foolishness" to his Stoic contemporary, as they were to those Athenians who mocked when they heard of the resurrection of the dead. But up to this point it is evident that St. Paul is consciously and of set purpose adopting language which would commend itself to a considerable section of his audience, and would convince them that the speaker was one who on matters of philosophy as well as of religion had a right to claim a patient hearing.

¹ *Ep. Mor.* xciv. 47.

² *Ibid.* xli. 1.

³ *Ibid.* xxxi. 11. These quotations are all given in Lightfoot, "Philippians," p. 288.

This Athenian speech, as might be expected, is the most convincing evidence of the Apostle's acquaintance with the principles of Stoicism. But it does not stand alone. There are many phrases and expressions in his Epistles which appear to have been borrowed by him from the same source. They are all collected by Bishop Lightfoot in his essay on St. Paul and Seneca, to which allusion has already been made. Among them the following deserve special notice.

(1) The heavenly citizenship of St. Paul, which recalls the cosmopolitan teaching of the Stoics, who loved to dwell upon the thought of a city of God, and taught that the duties of humanity extended to all classes and ranks in the social scale, even to slaves. "The Stoics," writes Clement of Alexandria, "say that heaven is properly a city, but places here on earth are not cities; for they are (merely) called so;"¹ and in confirmation and illustration of this Bishop Lightfoot quotes several passages from Seneca which make it hard to think that St. Paul "spoke quite independently of this Stoic imagery, when the vision of a nobler polity rose before him, the revelation of a city not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."²

(2) The Stoic conception of the wise man, who alone is free, alone is rich, alone is king, and whose "most prominent characteristic is that he is sufficient in himself, that he wants nothing, that he possesses everything";³ this, we may well believe, suggested to the Apostle the thought of the true self-sufficiency (*αὐταρκεία*) of the Christian, who has learnt in whatsoever circumstances he is to be self-sufficing (*αὐταρκής*), who has all things to the full⁴ and to overflowing (Philippians iv. 11, 18); and was perhaps present to his mind when he described himself and his fellow apostles as "being grieved, yet alway rejoicing; as

¹ *Stromata*, III. xxvi.

² See "Philippians," p. 305.

³ *Ibid*, p. 301.

⁴ *ἀρέχω* (the word here) as well as *αὐταρκεία* (occurring elsewhere in 1 Tim. vi. 6) and *αὐταρκής*, was a favourite Stoic word.

beggars, yet making many rich ; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things " (2 Corinthians vi. 10) ; "in everything at every time having every self-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*) ; in everything being enriched " (2 Corinthians ix. 8-11).

(3) Of conscience (*συνειδήσις*) it has been said that "both the expression and the fully correspondent idea are foreign to the Old Testament."¹ *Συνειδήσις* appears once only in the whole of the LXX. version of the Canonical books, in Ecclesiastes x. 20, where it is used as a translation of the Hebrew *חַשְׁבֹּן* (A. V. "thought") and not at all as a moral term. In the Apocrypha it is equally rare, occurring only in Wisdom xvii. 11, where however it has its ethical meaning of conscience. In the New Testament it is never found in the Gospels (John viii. 9 is of course an interpolation). Nor does it occur anywhere outside the Pauline Epistles and St. Paul's speeches in the Acts, except in the 1st Epistle of St. Peter, where we meet with it three times. These facts shew that the idea was not a natural product of Judaism. And yet St. Paul uses the word no less than twenty-two times. Whence, then, came it that it was so familiar to him, while it was strange to almost every other writer of the Old and New Testaments? Whence, if not through his acquaintance with the tenets and terminology of the Stoics, through whose influence the term became "current coin," if indeed it was not "struck in their mint"?²

(4) Besides these important expressions, which suggest that a part of the Apostle's system was built up with stones from the Porch of Zeno, there are several idioms and phrases scattered about through the Epistles in which we seem to catch an echo of the language of the same school: e.g. St. Paul's "spend and be spent" (2 Corinthians xii. 15) reappears in the very same form in Seneca ; while the charge of the Apostle in Ephesians v. 16 to "redeem the

¹ Cramer's Lexicon, s. v.

² Lightfoot, "Philipplans," p. 301.

time" finds a parallel in the philosopher's exhortation to "gather up and preserve the time"; and where one writer, speaking of human frailty, says that "we have this treasure in earthen vessels" (2 Corinthians iv. 7), the other likens men to "a cracked vessel which will break at the least fall."

Many more such coincidences are given by Bishop Lightfoot.¹ It is impossible to believe that they are all accidental. They are too close and too numerous to be set down in every case to chance; and thus they seem amply sufficient to establish the fact that at some time or other St. Paul must have made a direct study of the principles of Stoicism; and where is he so likely to have done this as in his native city, which, as we have already seen, was a prominent seat of this particular philosophy?

III. There is yet one more branch of a liberal education, of which we may claim St. Paul as a student. The subject of Roman law is one which he would almost of necessity have studied. He was himself a Roman citizen, and valued the privilege highly.² It would therefore be most needful for him to make himself acquainted with its privileges and responsibilities, with the duties and the rights which the law gave him. We are told also that the sect of the Stoics generally made a study of Roman law; and if therefore we are right in supposing St. Paul to have attended the lectures of that philosophical school, it is probable that at the same time he would have mastered the elements of the legal system of the Romans, some knowledge of which may be traced in a few passages of his Epistles. This subject has been made peculiarly his own by the Dean of Ely, who first drew attention to it in his Boyle Lectures for 1864, on "The Conversion of the Roman Empire," and has since repeated his observations and illustrations in his little volume on "St. Paul in Rome." In the earlier of these two works he tells us that St. Paul was personally well

¹ Lightfoot, "Philippians," p. 285 *seq.*

² Acts xvi. 37; xxii. 25-28.

versed in the principles of Roman law, and that "there is in some parts of his teaching a direct application of Roman legal principles in illustration of his doctrine, which none but a Roman could be expected so to apply, none unless versed in Roman law would be able to employ."¹ Three instances are given, all of which appear to be worth considering, although they are not of equal value.

(1) The first is drawn from the way in which our Lord's mission is described by St. Paul "as the accomplishment of a task imposed on Him by the Father." From one point of view Christ's work was purely voluntary, and it was "of Himself" that He laid down his life. But from another point of view we may regard Him as "sent" by the Father, and as working out our salvation in obedience to that Divine mission. Both views of his work are found in Holy Scripture; but the latter is the aspect in which it is generally regarded by St. Paul. Romans iii. 25, "Whom God set forth to be a propitiation"; v. 19, "Through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous." Galatians i. 4, "Who gave Himself for our sins . . . according to the will of our God and Father." Philippians ii. 8, "He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death"; Colossians i. 19, "It was the good pleasure of the Father that in him should all the fulness dwell; and through him to reconcile all things unto himself."² "But this notion," says Dean Merivale, "of the absolute subjection of the Son to the Father agrees exactly with the well known principle of Roman law involved in the *patria potestas*, or authority of the father. Down to a late period of the empire the law of the twelve tribes, which gave the father power over the person and property of his son, even

¹ Boyle Lectures, p. 81.

² With these passages we may compare the following from the Epistle to the Hebrews, which in this as in other matters reflects St. Paul's teaching; v. 8, "Though he was a son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered."

after he had come of age, continued, at least in theory, unabated. Gaius, under the Antonines, still speaks of it as peculiar to Roman law (*Institut.* i. 55): 'Our children whom we have begotten in lawful wedlock are in our own power, a right which is peculiar to Roman citizens, for there are hardly any others who have the same power over their sons as we have.'"¹ The Roman jurist, however, proceeds to notice the existence of a like authority over children in one other nation, and one only. That one is the nation of the Galatians. Was this fact known to the Apostle? It is certainly remarkable that, in writing to the church of that very nation (*Gal.* iv. 1), he should use language which is in exact conformity with the custom peculiar to them and to the Romans: "But I say that so long as the heir is a child, he differeth nothing from a bond-servant, though he is lord of all; but is under guardians and stewards until the time appointed of his father. So we also, when we were children, were held in bondage under the rudiments of the world; but when the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son," etc.

(2) The same Epistle to the Galatians (*Chap.* iii. 15) supplies the second example of a supposed allusion to Roman law: "Brethren, I speak after the manner of men; though it be but a man's covenant (*Margin*: 'testament'), yet when it hath been confirmed no one maketh it void or addeth thereto." This the Dean supposes to refer to the Roman law of wills, "according to which the testator, after certain formalities fulfilled, could neither revoke nor alter his disposition of his property. Thus when we are told by Suetonius that Cæsar, and subsequently Augustus, placed their testaments in the hands of the Vestal Virgins (*Jul.* 83, *Oct.* 101), we are to understand that they thereby renounced the power of cancelling or adding a codicil to them." We are further reminded that the Romans

¹ Boyle Lectures, p. 208.

"invented the will," and that it is "doubtful whether a true power of testation was known to any original society except the Romans." I cannot, however, say that the allusion in this case is by any means certain. Διαθήκη here as everywhere else in the New Testament, except Hebrews ix. 15-17, is probably used with the meaning of covenant, and not of will or testament, and it is quite possible to obtain an easy and natural sense for the passage without connecting it with the law of wills.

(8) Far stronger is the third instance given, and Dr. Merivale is not exaggerating when he calls it "unquestionable." The figure of sonship as representing the true relation of the believer to the Father is one which meets us frequently in Holy Scripture. But whereas St. John and St. Peter represent this sonship as a natural one, St. Paul, and St. Paul only, describes it as sonship by adoption. Romans viii. 15-23: "Ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. . . . The creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God. . . . And ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for our adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body." Galatians iv. 5: "That we might receive the adoption of sons." Ephesians i. 5: "Having foreordained us unto adoption as sons."

Now adoption was essentially a Roman and not a Jewish custom. The law of Moses nowhere recognizes it, and the Jews had no word to express it. But with the Romans it was an every day occurrence for a person, having no children of his own, to adopt as his son one born of other parents. "It was a formal act, effected either by the process named *adrogatio*, when the person to be adopted was independent of his parent, or by *adoptio*, specifically so

called, when in the power of his parent. The effect of it was that the adopted child was entitled to the name and *sacra privata* of his new father, and ranked as his heir-at-law; while the father on his part was entitled to the property of the son, and exercised towards him all the rights and privileges of a father. In short, the relationship was to all intents and purposes the same as existed between a natural father and son."¹ It is this that was in the Apostle's mind when he spoke of *υιοθεσία* enjoyed by Christians. The word occurs nowhere in the LXX., nor is it used by any writer of the New Testament except St. Paul, who has actually been supposed to have first framed the word for his own use. We need not perhaps go quite as far as to assert this, although it appears to be a fact that the word is not found in any earlier Greek writer whose works still exist. It is, however, likely to have been employed as the nearest equivalent to *adoptio* by those Greek teachers from whom we suppose the Apostle to have learnt the elements of law; and whatever we may think of the history of the word, there can be little doubt that it was the Roman custom which supplied the Apostle with the illustration which he develops most fully in his Epistle to the Roman Christians.

This concludes Dean Merivale's list of passages in which the teaching of St. Paul is thought to be imbued with the ideas of Roman jurisprudence. Few though they are, they are perhaps sufficient to incline us to add a knowledge of law to the elements of Stoic philosophy and an acquaintance with the Greek poets, as among the forces and influences which have left their mark on the mind of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and to lead us to include a classical education as one of the sources of his teaching.

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

¹ "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. i. p. 23.

PSALM CXXXIX.

M. TAINE, in his *History of English Literature*, has said that there are three elements to be considered in estimating the character of any author—his race, his surroundings, and his epoch. It seems to us that each of these marks has been very powerfully stamped upon this fragment of ancient poetry. It is essentially of Judaic origin; its race is marked in every line. It breathes from beginning to end the spirit of the Theocracy, and it expresses that spirit in the most unqualified terms. The human soul stands face to face with the First Cause of its being, and it refuses to recognize any second cause. God is all in all: the Presence behind, the Presence before, the Presence around: the Power that designs, fashions, upholds in its minutest details the structure of the life of man. The whole concentrated essence of Judaism is breathed in the single utterance: "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy Presence?" It is distinctively the psalm of the Divine ubiquity; and, therefore, it is above all others the hymn of the national religion.

But if the features of the race are unmistakably stamped upon this psalm, there are other features in it which the race alone cannot explain. It is not merely that it displays an unusual amount of speculative power; for the same may be said of the books of Job and Ecclesiastes. There is in this psalm, if we are not greatly mistaken, an element which is not found in either Job or Ecclesiastes. The problems of those books are the problems of universal humanity, and they are discussed *as such*. We have as yet discovered no internal ground for placing them at one date rather than at another. This psalm also deals with a problem of universal human interest; but it seems to have been suggested to the mind of the writer by the struggle of a national crisis; the Poet, as M. Taine would say, has

revealed his surroundings and his epoch. What were those surroundings? what was that epoch? Can we penetrate the secret of the composition? Can we in any measure get behind the veil of time, and see the artist at his work? Can we catch a glimpse of the moral motives which prompted him to write in this way and in no other? Can we, in short, from a study of his literary production, assign him his place in history, his epoch in the world of time, and those circumstances of individual life which constituted the call to his mission?

The poem bears the title "A Psalm of David," but the inscriptions are, as we know, of no authority. That it belongs to the age of David cannot, we think, be maintained. There is, indeed, a ring about the close which sounds very like an echo of the spirit traditionally attributed to the minstrel king. There is a flashing out of the soul from calm into storm, from rest into anger, from meditation into action, which strongly reminds us of David. But, then, this is a quality of the Jewish race itself. It is strong in David only because David strongly represents the national character. In that character meditation and action are blended; and the action is strong only because the meditation is deep. The Jew was great in battle, because he was great in prayer. We cannot, therefore, draw any inference from this feature as to the age of the psalm, and we are forced to look elsewhere.

There are two directions in which we may look. We may consider the matter of the psalm, or we may contemplate its form; and an united view of these will impel us to assign a late date to the production. Beginning with the form or language of the psalm, we are arrested by the fact that it contains two Chaldaisms, one at the opening, the other near the close. Our minds are immediately carried far beyond the days of David, into an atmosphere and a culture which the age of David never knew. We are trans-

planted into the times of the Babylonian Exile. We are confronted by the Judæa, not of David, nor of Solomon, nor even of Uzziah, but of a nation that has lost its king and forfeited its freedom, and whose poetry is henceforth but a song by the streams of Babel. At first sight it would seem as if the *matter* of the psalm did not bear out this view. The mind of the writer breathes confidence, hope, even joy. He feels himself to be entrenched in a stronghold, and his feeling betrays itself in an exuberance of manly strength which makes the reader aware that he has taken his stand and will maintain it. One asks if this can be the voice of a captive, the voice of a Jew in a foreign land, with a foreign master, under a foreign faith. Is there anything in the spirit of this psalm which would lead us either directly or indirectly to associate it with a Chaldaic influence, any element in its teaching which can be made to harmonize with the fact that its language bears the traces of a soil not its own? Let us see.

The subject of the psalm is the Omnipresence of the Deity. The keynote, from beginning to end, is the refrain, God is everywhere. Upon this all the changes are rung, and all the variations are based. The Poet seems to exhaust every sphere of nature and of mind in the effort to answer the question, Where is God not? He ascends up into heaven, he traverses the earth to the uttermost parts of the sea, he makes an imaginary bed in the place of the dead itself; and in all of them he fails to find the spot without God. He enters into the world of his own soul, he interrogates his secret thoughts and the mysterious depths of his being; but here too he is unable to discover a field untenanted by the Divine Presence. He questions his minutest and most commonplace actions, such seemingly trivial incidents as his downsitting and his uprising; yet even in these insignificant details he finds himself to be beset by the very life of the Eternal, encompassing his path

and his lying down, and anticipating his humblest needs ere they have had time to cry. He sees that Divine Life girding his own individual life on every side. It besets him behind, in the past. It besets him before, in the future. It besets him side by side, by laying its hand on him in the actual touch of the present. The very darkness is not negation; it is but the disguised presence of light, the shadow cast by the wings of a Divine Love whose nearness passeth knowledge.

Now, if this picture *were* painted during the period of the Persian captivity, is there anything in the Parsee religion which would account for its production? Yes; there is the existence of a direct contrast. The doctrine of a Divine Omnipresence is the point insisted on by this psalm; the doctrine of the Divine Omnipresence is the point denied by Parsism. In many things the faith of the Parsee agreed with that of the Jew; but there was one point at which they were hopelessly at variance; and that was the article of belief which forms the subject of this poem. The very point which the Parsee would not admit was the thesis that God is everywhere. His God was not everywhere; he held only one hemisphere of the universe, the bright hemisphere. He occupied the kingdom of Light, but he had no throne in the kingdom of Darkness. He was present where joy was present, but not where grief and pain and death held sway. These belonged to the realm of darkness, and therefore were outside the government of the Life Divine. They were the subjects of another government, the servants of a malignant power which disputed with God the empire of the universe. The Parsee assuredly could not say: "If I make my bed in Hades thou art there! The darkness and the light are both alike to thee."

Now imagine what would be the effect of such an atmosphere on the mind of a Jew. Conceive a man, who all his

life had been accustomed to think of God as a Presence pervading every corner of the universe, compelled to acknowledge the outward sway of a religion whose leading and central position was the denial of that truth: what would be his natural impulse? If he were a man of enthusiasm, it would be an impulse of reaction and opposition; and if, in addition to that, he were a man of genius, his reaction and his opposition would express themselves in some such effort as the work before us. He would exalt his own God in the very point in which He had been depressed; he would praise Him most where men had dispraised Him. Such we believe to have been the position of the Author of this psalm. He found the Parsee worshipper shutting up his God in the bright places of the universe, and denying Him a share in its darkness; claiming for Him the great, but rejecting the trivial; recognizing Him as the Lord of life, but assigning to another the lordship over death. Against that doctrine he raised his voice; and it took the form of a song, the song of the Divine Omnipresence. He told the Parsees they were wrong in saying that darkness was the evil serpent; *that* we believe to be the real allusion in verse 11: "If I say, surely the darkness shall *bruise* me, even the night shall be light about me." It is as if he had said: "I cannot let you affirm that the shadows of life are outside the government of God. I cannot without protest allow you to assign these shadows a place in the kingdom of another power. They do not hurt except *that* they may heal; they are not the bruise of the serpent, but the wound of love. The serpent itself, that principle of darkness which you make the rival of the Divine, is but the delegated vassal and messenger of Supreme Goodness, working out unconsciously and involuntarily the plans of an Infinite Wisdom; the very wrath of the wicked is made to praise my God."

Here, then, is an interesting study in comparative theo-

logy. We see Judaism, as it were, on its trial in a foreign land, arraigned before the tribunal of another faith, and forced to consider the difference between herself and that faith. We see her, in the course of this trial, maintaining an attitude of strict conservatism; and not only holding fast her old tenets, but uttering them with a double emphasis. We see her in language more pronounced than she had ever used before claiming for her God the absolute empire of the universe, and refusing to acknowledge any limit to his power. Judaism is here revealed in her antagonism to the faith of the Parsee, and in her unison with most other Eastern faiths. If, in her doctrine of Divine Omnipresence, she is opposed to the creed of Persia, she is by that very doctrine united to the mighty creeds of India, where God is all in all.

It is when we pass from the theology to the anthropology of this psalm that we meet with Judaism in her distinctive aspect. In his proclamation of the Divine Omnipresence, the Author is in harmony with the general tendency of the Asiatic mind; but in his doctrine of the nature of man he breaks with all forms of Eastern faith. Brahmanism had said, "God is everywhere"; but for that very reason it had added, "Man is nowhere." The fact that God was all made it necessary to the mind of the Indian that man should be nothing. It was to him an impious thought to suppose that the life of the creature was a reality; if God filled all things, where was there room for any other existence? And so, from his very sense of the Divine Omnipresence, the Indian denied to man the right to live, denied even the present fact of his existence. His life was but a shadow, but a dream, but an illusion, but a sudden and transient mist which hid the presence of the all-embracing Sun, and which the beams of that Sun would speedily dispel. In contrast to this picture of human nothingness, the psalm stands forth as the representative of

Judaism. Starting, like the Indian, with the thought of the Divine Omnipresence, it derives from that thought the opposite conclusion. It says: "Because God is everywhere, therefore man is great!" It maintains that the all-embracing presence of the Divine Life, so far from crushing the personality of the individual soul, is the only thing which gives to that personality its rounded completeness. It declares that man's highest claim to greatness is the fact that he exists in the thought of God; it anticipates the spirit of the gospel utterance: "Because I live, ye shall live also!"

There are two points in the anthropology of this psalm which seem to us worthy of consideration: its view of man's origin, and its hint of his destiny. Its view of man's origin is given in verses 15 and 16: "My substance was not hid from Thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance yet being unperfect; and in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them." Now there is one fact which must strike us here very powerfully, and it is this. The Psalmist has no fear and no scruple whatever in ascribing to man a very humble physical origin. He is not ashamed to join with the writer of Genesis in tracing his pedigree from the dust of the earth. He speaks of him as being made in secret, that is to say, from the most unlikely materials. He speaks of him as having derived his substance from the lowest parts of the earth; in other words, as having on one side of his nature had an origin identical with the meanest things. He speaks of him in language strangely like that used by the modern advocates of the doctrine of Evolution. He sees his members fashioned in continuance, wrought up into unity through a process of time and development; and man himself appears as the resultant harmony of

elements which in their life of separation had presented varied hues.

All this, it must be confessed, sounds like a very ancient anticipation of the tone of modern science. The difference lies in the fact that, to the mind of the Psalmist, there is nothing in such a view which is fitted to shake man's sense of dignity. We feel instinctively that, had he lived in our days, he would have contemplated with a perfect calm the question of the truth or falsehood of Darwinism. If it had been proved to him that the life of the human soul had emanated from a development of the animal creation, he would have said: "What does it matter? God measures things, not by their beginnings but by their aim and end. *Thine eyes did see my substance yet being unperfect.* What can it signify that my earthly origin was the dust of the ground? Even then, even in that state of humiliation, the thought of my completed being was perfect in the heart of God. The lower creation was but the ladder on whose steps the Divine Life climbed to me. *I was all along the purpose of this creation.* It was *my* members that God saw in the dust; it was *my* life that He beheld in the unfolding of the animated kingdom. The world of nature was but my forerunner; it came before me in time, but I preceded it in the Divine thought. I may have come out of it; but, if so, it only lived to *bring* me out of it; the only ground on which it had being was its power to lead up to me. I am not a fragment of nature; in the sight of Heaven, nature is a fragment of me; for, in the days when the creation was still unfinished, the eye of the Eternal rested on *my* substance."

Such is, virtually, the meaning of this remarkable utterance. Nowhere perhaps throughout its whole compass does the Old Testament reveal itself in such close intellectual sympathy with the spirit of modern thought. Its line of reasoning is abreast of the highest religious culture of

our age; nay, it is precisely that argument which our age above all others requires. We are afraid, we are unreasonably afraid. We fear the advance of that doctrine of Evolution which threatens to become universal. We fear lest the humanity that is within us should be referred for its origin to the beast of the field. We tremble lest the law of conscience should be found to have had its root in an animal dread of punishment. We are perplexed lest those lofty rules of morality whose mandates are the law of our being should be proved to have had at the outset no higher source than the dictates of expediency. Why should we be thus perplexed? Why should we not learn that, whatever his origin may have been, man is at least man *now*? Can we not see that if we postulate a Divine Purpose in the world at all, we must hold that the first thing contemplated in the purpose was just the thing which has been last evolved? Do we not perceive that when the gardener plants the seed, his spiritual eye is resting on the completed bloom of the flower; that that which is last in time was first in thought? "In thy book all my members were written when as yet there was none of them," is the utterance of all others best suited to comfort our age. If we could grasp the spirit of the Psalmist, we should have peace. If we could feel like him, that in the early stages of the development of creation the final goal of humanity was not hid from the eye of the Eternal, we should be able at a stroke to cut the knot of all Darwinian difficulties. Without solving the question, we should be able to rise above it, and to feel ourselves independent of its solution. It would cease to touch our religious interests, cease to menace our immortal hopes; for we should find the true cause of man's being in beholding the purpose of his completed life.

This brings us to the second point in the anthropology of this psalm. It not only throws a light upon man's origin;

it also gives a hint of his destiny. The suggestion is contained in the words of verse 8: "If I ascend up into heaven thou art there; if I make my bed in the place of the dead, behold, Thou art there." The poising of these two expressions, "heaven" and "the place of the dead," is very remarkable. It is the reconciliation of the two greatest extremes which human thought can picture—life and death. Let us remember, too, that the extremes were greater to the Jew than they can ever be to us. We have learned to think of death with a feeling of hallowed reverence; but that is because we have felt the power of the Christian faith. To the mind of the Jew, death had no such association of calm beauty; it was naturally to him the symbol of an averted God. The nation which was able to trace the presence of its God through all the storms and vicissitudes of life was prone at times to waver when it looked upon life's close. It could see the face of God in every national crisis and in every personal misfortune, but in the last act of the individual drama it beheld a cloud over the Divine countenance. It was the doctrine of Cerinthus that, as the hour of Christ's crucifixion drew near, the Divine Nature fled away and left his human soul to suffer alone. The belief was wild and fantastical, yet it had its germ in the heart of Judaism. Judaism, which tottered nowhere else, was in danger of fainting at the gates of death; and there were moments when even her most pious sons were constrained to say: "In death there is no remembrance of Thee; in the grave who shall give Thee thanks?"

The writer of this psalm refuses to pause before this tragic veil; he demands the right to enter, and to claim for God the mystic world of death. He is more intensely Jewish than any of his predecessors, and he is so because he is environed by more opposition than they. He is an exile in the land of the Parsee, where God's universal empire is denied; and therefore the universality of God's

empire is for him the one truth of creation. His countrymen in the days of Judaic prosperity had claimed God's presence for life, but had confessed his absence in death. The author of this psalm, taught by adversity the value of pain, aspires to find for the Eternal a home even amid the shadows of the dark valley. As we read his words in this eighth verse, it almost seems as if in his person Judaism had bounded into a Christian hope of immortality. We are told a thousand times that the Jew had no knowledge of a heaven for the soul, that the only future he knew was that of a mysterious under-world where the spirits of the dead reposed. It is this under-world which the Psalmist here designates by the word translated "hell"; it is the universal Old Testament name for the place of the dead. But, in the hands of this writer, the under-world becomes well-nigh as fair as the upper; it receives the very glory of heaven. What is the glory of heaven? We do not ask what is its glory to a Greek or to a Roman; to these the future life of the Jew would indeed be hell. But what is its glory to the heart of a Christian, to that of a Paul? Is it not the fact that to depart is to be with God? The heaven of Christianity is not beautiful to its votaries by reason of its pearly streets and golden gates; it is beautiful because it is conceived to be the home of God. Now this is the thought which the Psalmist makes his own. He too recognizes that the joy of heaven is the joy of being with God; but, to him, God is everywhere. To say that at death the soul does not ascend is not necessarily to say that it is banished from heaven. God is in the under as well as in the upper world; and the pure soul will find Him there as in all places. Death cannot rob a good man of his God; whither can he flee from his presence? That presence will follow him equally whether he ascend up into heaven or whether he make his bed in the unknown under-world. However unknown it may be, it is not outside of Him; and

whatever is not outside of Him may be the heaven of the soul. Such is the thought of the Psalmist, a thought which flashes a ray of glory around the Jewish vision of death and throws back its light on the Jewish doctrine of immortality. We see that the Judaic faith in God had enclosed within itself a hope of eternal life. The Jew did not, like the Greek, conjure up the images of a locality which the disembodied soul would inhabit after death; he had no figure in his imagination wherewith to body forth his conception of the dark vale. But he knew of a Presence that belonged alike to his own world and the under-world, the Being of the Eternal God; and, in that knowledge, death itself ceased to be a foreign land. It lost much of its strangeness. It held something which the earth held, and that the source of all that is in earth or heaven, the very Life of the universe. That was the Jew's hope of immortality. He spoke more of God than of the life beyond death, because God was Himself the Life on both sides of death. Go where his spirit might, it would never get beyond the range of that charmed circle over which presided the life of the Eternal One; and within the range of that circle his spirit must, in death as in life, be united to all that was noble in humanity.

This leads us to observe a final point in the doctrine of this psalm. It is involved in the concluding portion, from verses 19 to 24, and forms at once the sequel and the proof of the view now taken. It will be seen with what seeming abruptness the psalm breaks away at its close from the contemplation of God to the contemplation of morality. There is really no abruptness in the transition; it is but the bud bursting into flower. To the Jew God was a revelation of immortality only because, to the Jew, God was a revelation of morality. The eternity of the Divine Life would have been no comfort to him unless he had believed that the law of that life had been written in his own soul. If he expected to survive death, it was only because he felt within

him that power of conscience which revealed his participation in the deathless nature of God. He felt the presence of a power that said to him "Thou shalt," "Thou shalt not." He could not explain its working by anything in himself; for it asserted its presence most powerfully at the very moment when he had willed to disobey it. Its mandates did not come from his own imperfect heart, and therefore they must be the voice of another heart. There was *in* him something which was not *of* him, a law which ruled him but was not made by him, a life which breathed through him but which was not his own. The law of God within him was his hope of glory. Heaven and earth might pass away, but this moral life would not pass away. It was the same in all times, and therefore it was independent of all changes, of the world, and life, and death. In the view of its imperishable glory, and in the sense of its Divine origin, the Psalmist might well close with the prayer "Lead me in the way everlasting."

GEORGE MATHESON.

DOUBLE PICTURES IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND THE APOCALYPSE.

SECOND PAPER.

RETURNING to the subject with which we were engaged last month, and still keeping by the Fourth Gospel, we turn to another illustration of the point before us taken from Chapters xv. and xvi. of that Gospel. We are thus introduced, it is true, not to a narrative of St. John himself, but to one of the last discourses of our Lord; and it may seem as if an illustration drawn from such a source tended to destroy the simple objectivity of the accounts given us by the Apostle of his Master's words, and to bring them too much

under the influence of his own mental habitudes. It must, however, be plain to every one that our first duty is to deal with the facts as we have them. It is further to be considered that the difficulty thus started is only part of a still wider one, affecting the whole character of the discourses of Jesus as recorded by the fourth Evangelist. And, finally, we can never forget that any peculiarities in St. John's manner of presenting these discourses is much more likely to have proceeded from the impression produced on him by the Speaker, than to have been transferred by him to One to whom he evidently felt that he was commissioned simply to "witness," and in whose presence his own individuality was to disappear. Nor can it for a moment be allowed that there would have been anything inappropriate or unnatural in the fact of our Lord's adopting such a *method* of discourse as that which we are now considering. He had been born of the "seed of David according to the flesh"; his education and training had been received among his own people; his associations were Jewish; and, so long as He pursued his work among men, He felt that his mission was to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel." Whatever, therefore, marked the Hebrew tone of mind may be expected to appear in Him, and more especially when He speaks in a lofty and prophetic tone. In this last consideration, indeed, we should be disposed to seek, much more than is generally done, the explanation of the undeniable difference between the discourses of our Lord in the Fourth Gospel and those contained in its predecessors. Something is undoubtedly to be attributed to the different places in which these discourses were for the most part respectively delivered, in the one case in Judea, in the other in Galilee. More weight still is due to the difference between the audiences which heard them; there, the representatives of Judaism in its most degenerate form; here, simple minded men, less fettered by prejudice and

more willing to be taught. Neither of these considerations, however, seems so important as the fact that, much more than the earlier Evangelists, St. John deals with Jesus in the profounder, more solemn, more affecting moments of his life,—those moments when it was natural for Him to rise, in a greater than ordinary degree, to a prophetic and poetic strain. Whatever was most essentially national, most connected with the “seed of Abraham,” would then be likely to shew itself in Him, when the depths of his heart were most profoundly stirred either by indignation or by sorrow.

At the same time, while all this may be said, it is unnecessary to dwell upon it. We have to take the text of our Gospel simply as it stands, and to see how far, alike in narrative and discourse, it illustrates the subject with which we deal.

The passage then to which we now turn is contained in John xv. 18—xvi. 15; a passage, the two parts of which, Chapter xv. 18–27, and Chapter xvi. 1–15, are not to be separated from each other as if the second were “the introduction of a new thought.” The topic of the latter, on the contrary, is simply that of the former. There is no change either of circumstances or of lesson. The disciples are still viewed less in their private Christian life than in the bearing of their life and work upon that world in which they are to take the place of Him who was about “to go to the Father.” Their active work had been set before them in the earlier portion of Chapter xv., and we need not dwell upon it. The thought in the later portion, to which Jesus turns, is, that in executing their task his followers are sure to provoke the opposition of the world, but that even in that prospect there is for them sufficient encouragement and strength. To present this consolation in the prospect of the hard struggle that awaits them is the object of the whole passage that we are considering, in both its parts.

A simple glance at the two parts will prove that this is the case. The first part begins with speaking of the hatred and persecutions for which the disciples were to look, and which are traced to their true cause, that the world did not know that God who had sent the Son (Chapter xv. 21); after which it passes on to the promise of the Advocate who should be sent unto them from the Father, even "the Spirit of truth" which proceedeth from the Father, and through whom, as He dwelt in them, they should be enabled to continue that witnessing to which they had been called (Verses 26, 27). A precisely similar order of thought marks the second part. We have the same hatred and persecutions (Chapter xvi. 1, 2); they are traced to the same cause (Verse 3); and, finally, we have the same promise of the Advocate as "the Spirit of truth" (Verse 13) to guide them into all the truth. In both instances the particular truths mentioned, and even their sequence, are the same.

But, while this is the case, more careful consideration will also shew that there is a difference between the two parts of which we speak, and that this difference is one of climax, Chapter xvi. 1-6 standing in a climactic relation to Chapter xv. 18-25; and Chapter xvi. 7-15 in a similar relation to Chapter xv. 26, 27. The first pair of these two groups of passages is occupied with the hatred and opposition of the world to the preachers of the truth; but the second member of the pair is far more specific than the first. In the one we have hatred and persecution simply in their *general* form; in the other they assume shapes of the most definite and terrible kind. They rise to excommunication from the synagogue, nay, not merely to excommunication, but to death; nay more, not merely to death, but to death from the fiercest spirit of ungodly fanaticism, when the murderers of the disciples shall slay them, in no levity or sport, "to make a Greek or Roman holiday," but in the

stern belief that their very religion, such as they profess it, demands that they shall do so; and because, in doing so, they will think that they offer acceptable service to the Almighty, — “whosoever killeth you will think that he offereth service unto God” (Chapter xvi. 2). Similar remarks apply to the second pair of the two groups of passages noted by us, that containing the promise of the Advocate. In the first member of this pair the Advocate is said to “bear witness concerning Jesus,” and to do this by means of the disciples, for verse 27 of Chapter xv. is not to be so separated from verse 26 as to lead us to the thought of two separate witnessings. The witnessing is one, that of the disciples animated by the Spirit of truth. The second member of the pair takes us much further forward. It describes the work of the Advocate at greater length and in more definite terms. It makes prominent the thought of “all the truth” (verse 13). It brings out a closer relation than before between Him and such as are made partakers of his influences. And, finally, it speaks of the work of the Spirit in the world, not as one merely of “witness-bearing,” but as one of so convicting of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, that the consciousness of its guilt shall be awakened in the world’s heart and it shall be unable to reply. The conditions of a double picture are thus clearly fulfilled in this part of our Lord’s last discourse to his disciples.

We turn to a fourth and last illustration of the point before us, taken from the Fourth Gospel, Chapter xviii. 15-27, premising only that we speak with some hesitation in regard to it, and that the solution which, upon the principle of St. John’s love of double pictures, we offer of its difficulties is to be considered rather as tentative than as one proposed with confidence. It is possible, indeed, that enquirers who, by a large induction of passages shall satisfy themselves that we are dealing with a real and not an imaginary principle

of structure in the writings of the beloved disciple, may be disposed to allow that there is more probability in the solution than we ask them to admit now. But there can be no presumption in at least requesting them to try whether this key will not fit the lock upon which so many other keys have been tried in vain. The passage relates the trial of our Lord before the high priest, with the thrice repeated denial of the Apostle Peter at that time. To reconcile its statements with those of the Synoptic Gospels, to determine the order of events, whether there was a preliminary examination before the real trial in the presence of the high priest took place; to fix the personality of the high priest; and to arrange the denials of Peter without making them six or even nine in number; these and similar points have reduced an innumerable succession of commentators to almost hopeless perplexity. Into all the details of difficulties, or into the solutions that have been offered, it is impossible to enter. Some of them will appear as we proceed. One or two points also must be taken for granted without argument. Thus the later reading of Verse 24, *οὖν* inserted after *ἀπέστειλεν*, admits of no reasonable doubt. The received reading has dropped *οὖν* from the text as an escape from difficulties. Verse 24, too, is neither spurious, nor is it inserted at a wrong place. All the evidence points at once to its genuineness, and to its standing where it ought to stand. Again, the verb *ἀπέστειλεν* of Verse 24 must be rendered "sent," and not "had sent" as in the Authorised Version. No doubt the aorist may be used with a pluperfect sense, but not in a clause like this which is both a main and direct clause, and neither subordinate nor relative. To translate "had sent" is simply to cut the knot. Once more, the "high priest" mentioned in Verses 15, 16, 19, 22, cannot surely be any other than Caiaphas. We know both from Matthew xxvi. 3, 57, and from the very passage before us (see Verse 13), that Caiaphas was the

high priest of that year. It is hardly possible to think that in a continuous narrative like the present, where the word "high priest" repeatedly occurs, there should be a sudden transition at Verse 15 from one individual to another as the person to be designated by that title. And this improbability is rendered much greater when we consider the peculiar importance attached by the Evangelist to keeping the thought of Caiaphas and of the high priest's office in the closest connexion with one another (Chapter xviii. 13, comp. Chapter xi. 49, 51). But, if these things be so, the whole narrative becomes at first sight both unintelligible in itself and at variance with those of the earlier Evangelists. If Caiaphas be throughout the "high priest," what are we to make of Verse 24, "Annas therefore sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest"? Jesus had been before Caiaphas already, and these words ought to have come in at the close of Verse 14. If, on the other hand, Annas be the "high priest" the trial of Jesus and at least the first denial of Peter are said to have taken place before him, although we are distinctly told in Matthew xxvi. that these things happened before Caiaphas.

The only solution of all these difficulties worth considering is that which supposes the trial related by St. John to have been not so much a public trial as a preliminary examination, a kind of precognition instituted for the purpose of laying a foundation for the more formal trial to be afterwards held before the Sanhedrin. Annas and Caiaphas, being closely related to one another, are then thought to have occupied apartments in the same large house, the buildings of which surrounded the "court" in which Peter denied his Master. Though this precognition therefore took place before Annas (John xviii. 13), Caiaphas, as holding the position of chief authority, conducted it (John xviii. 15-23); and, when it was over, Jesus was sent formally to Caiaphas to be publicly tried (John xviii. 24).

The fact, again, that Peter's first denial is, upon this view, reported by St. John as having taken place at a point of time anterior to the public trial, while in the narrative of St. Matthew it is not spoken of until that trial is over, finds its explanation in the tendency of the first Evangelist to group particulars of the same kind together, without strict regard to chronological arrangement. Finally, all that we are told in the Fourth Gospel of the Saviour's public trial is contained in Verses 25 to 27 of Chapter xviii.

We shall not venture to say that this explanation is untenable; but it is certainly attended by many difficulties that can hardly be spoken of as satisfactorily overcome. It may therefore be worth while to ask whether the true solution is not to be found in that structural principle of the Fourth Gospel already illustrated in several other instances.

Let it be observed that the main object of the whole passage, Verses 12-27, is not so much to relate the particulars of the trial of Jesus as to set before us a picture of the continued sufferings inflicted upon Him by the cruel "Jews," more especially as these are aggravated by the faithlessness and cowardice of the boldest of all the Apostles; not only Simon, but "Simon, therefore, Peter" (Verse 10), Simon who is Peter, "the rock."¹ For this purpose a scene really one is divided into two parts, and is presented to us in one of the double pictures of St. John; the same idea predominating in each, but appearing in the second of the two in deepened colouring, in climactic form. The first picture extends from Verse 15 to Verse 18; the second from Verse 24 to Verse 27, the latter being

¹ The peculiar manner in which the name of Peter is introduced to us in the narrative of this passage is worthy of observation, and it is to be regretted that the force of the original words is lost in the Revised as well as in the Authorised Version. In Chapter xviii. verse 10 the Apostle does not say "Simon Peter therefore" but *Σίμων ὁὖν Πέτρος*, "Simon therefore Peter," i.e. Simon whose name is Peter, the object being to bring out the nature of the man (comp. also Verses 15 and 25).

at the same time prefaced by an introduction extending from Verse 19 to Verse 23. Looked at in this light, Verse 24 neither intimates that at that particular moment Jesus was taken from Annas to Caiaphas, thus implying that the former is the high priest of Verses 15 to 23, nor that at a previous time Annas "had" sent Him to Caiaphas, a translation which we have seen cannot be accepted. Verse 24 is simply a restatement, at the opening of the second picture, of a fact that must be borne in mind if we would understand the scene. That Jesus was "bound" is a part of his sufferings rendering the sin of Peter peculiarly great; but, when the binding of the "officers of the Jews" (Verse 12) received the confirmation of one so eminent as Annas, it constituted such an aggravation of the sufferings of the innocent Redeemer that, only in an instant of more than ordinary callousness, could it have failed to melt the heart of the Apostle. This fact, therefore, of the binding of Jesus, the Evangelist will not allow us to forget; and, that it may be kept distinctly in our view, he recapitulates it when entering on the second section of his narrative, with the element of added force which springs from its association not with the "officers" merely but with Annas, the most influential person in the whole Jewish community at Jerusalem. It would almost seem as if some slight confirmation of what has been said were to be found in the insertion of the article before the name of Annas in Verse 24, although the same name had been anarthrous in Verse 13. The Evangelist would, as it were, say, "That same Annas, of whom I have already spoken as having received Jesus bound, sent Him bound to Caiaphas." But, without urging this, our simple contention is that Verse 24 belongs rather to the ideal grouping than to the historical succession of events. In this respect the word "therefore" in it has a certain resemblance to the same word when it occurs in the last clause of Chapter

xix. 24. It is at once a pause and the resumption of a thought, not the introduction to an event described as taking place at the particular moment in question.

It is probable enough that, up to the point now reached, our readers may have accompanied us with considerable hesitation. It may seem to them that the foundation of the argument is narrow. Let us therefore ask whether there are any traces to be discovered in the second picture of that deeper colouring which, if the theory now suggested be correct, it ought to possess in comparison with the first. It would seem that there are not a few, and some of them highly interesting and important. Thus the framework of the second picture, in comparison with that of the first, is heightened. We have already seen that it is so with the binding of Jesus, that binding being in the first connected only with "the band, and the chief captain, and the officers of the Jews" (Verse 12), and this although Annas, to whom Jesus was sent "first," must, *before we leave Verse 14*, have confirmed it; while in the second the part taken by Annas in the binding is specially mentioned.

Again, not only is this the case with the binding of Jesus, the same climax appears in the picture of his sufferings and submission. These are only silently implied in the first picture (Verses 12 to 14): they are brought out with peculiar emphasis in the introduction to the second (Verses 19 to 23). Above all, however, that heightening of effect of which we speak is perceptible in the denials of Peter. (1) In the first picture there is only one denial; in the second there are two. (2) The circumstances in which the second and third denials take place are much more calculated to wound the heart of Jesus than those of the first. The first took place in the porch. Let us bring the scene before us. When Peter, along with "another disciple," followed his Divine Master that night, he was not at first permitted to accompany Him closely; he

was stopped at "the door without" (Verse 16). It may have been only for a few seconds, but they are full of weight in our effort to realize the incidents of the hour. While Peter is stopped *Jesus passes through*, and we are justified in saying that, before that parley at the door is over which eventually leads to the admission of both disciples, Jesus will have been lost in the crowd, and will be out of sight. At that time the first denial takes place. Peter beholds only angry officers and servants; he does not *see* his Lord, and he denies Him. There is nothing of this kind connected with the second and third denials. They occur after Peter has been admitted into the "court," and when he has Jesus under his eye, bound and struck, yet patient and submissive. (3) The first denial is uttered while Peter is only with the other disciple, and in the cold. He has not yet in any way connected himself with the enemies of Jesus, has had no fellowship with them, and has so far been thinking only of his Master's cross, not of the comforts which the world can offer. But the second and third denials are uttered after he has taken his place in the midst of the circle gathered in the cold of that night around the charcoal fire. There he "was standing and warming himself" at the time (Verse 25).¹ (4) The first denial is introduced by the words, "Peter saith" (Verse 17); the second and third have emphasis attached to them, "he denied and said," "Peter therefore denied again" (Verses 25, 27).

So many circumstances, taken together, appear to warrant the conclusion that the whole passage which we have been discussing contains two pictures, both embodying the same idea, but in climax to one another; and we may

¹ The mention of this circumstance in Verse 25 in almost the same words as in Verse 18 is not only a proof of the importance attached to it by the Evangelist, but seems to afford a confirmation of the general view here taken, that in Verse 24 we have a resumption of the thought of the previous passage.

therefore present it at least for consideration in this light. If the application of the general principle of structure of which we have spoken be in this instance allowed, the gain will be unquestionable. We shall be able to explain those words of St. John's narrative in Verse 24 which have not yet received an explanation in full correspondence with the other parts of the same narrative, or with the earlier Evangelists.

It is unnecessary to produce further illustrations from the Fourth Gospel of the point before us ; nor shall we say much at present of the importance of adverting to it. This will appear more clearly when the existence of this structural principle in St. John's writings has been more fully established. In the mean time it ought to be our effort to satisfy ourselves that we have been dealing with a real, and not an imaginary, characteristic of our Apostle. If well founded, it will obviously supply a rule of interpretation that we cannot afford to neglect. It will also yield an answer to the objection so often urged, that the style of the Fourth Gospel is marked by constant and wearisome reiterations of the same thing. In no single instance, we believe, is this the case. The general and fundamental thought may be the same, but there is always a difference either of aspect or of application. Nor do the reiterations, such as they are, proceed from any deficiency of skill on the part of the writer. They are distinctly designed by him ; they are a part of that mould into which, probably for the sake of greater impressiveness, he casts his thoughts.

The Fourth Gospel has occupied more space than we expected. It may be well, therefore, to delay entering upon those illustrations of the principle we are discussing which are afforded by the Apocalypse.

WM. MILLIGAN.

TWO NEW TESTAMENT WORDS DENOTING LIFE:

ζωή AND ψυχή.

IN a former Article in the EXPOSITOR¹ an endeavour was made to throw light upon the New Testament relations of ψυχή and πνεῦμα, *soul* and *spirit*. But ψυχή, through its sense of *life*, has relations also with ζωή; and, considering that the English language, like the Latin, supplies, in this region, only one representative for both, it may be worth while to elucidate with some care the radical distinction between them, and trace its effect where the words may at first sight seem to be used indiscriminately.

Both ψυχή and ζωή are sometimes roughly defined to be the *living principle*. Tittmann calls ζωή, *vita quâ vivimus*: and ψυχή, *vis animalis quâ vivimus*. Webster makes ψυχή the "living principle which animates the body"; and the only distinction he appears to draw between the two words is based on the contrast between this life and the life to come. Archbishop Trench treats of ζωή and βίος, but leaves ζωή and ψυχή untouched.

A fundamental difference between these synonyms is at once suggested by the use of ψυχή as *soul*, and not unfrequently as *a living being, an individual life*, or, in common phrase, *a life*. Ζωή can never denote *a living being*, in the body or out of the body, though it may of course denote the life of that being. Thus Adam could become a ψυχή ζωσα,² but he could not become a ζωή; in fact it was the πνοή ζωής that made him a ψυχή. We could scarcely substitute ζωὰς for ψυχὰς in the expression, "Men that have hazarded their *lives* for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ;"³ though ζῶν for the life of both Paul and Barnabas would have done very well, just as the singular is found in the phrase, "What is your life (ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν)?"⁴

¹ Vol. XII. (First Series), *A New Testament Antithesis*.

² Gen. ii. 7.

³ Acts xv. 26.

⁴ James iv. 14.

not in quite the same sense however as that of the singular $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ when used of several persons; for instance, where Joab rebukes king David for having shamed the faces of all his servants "which this day have saved thy life ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\acute{\nu}$), and the life ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\acute{\nu}$, that is, the individual life of each) of thy sons and of thy daughters."¹ Nor could $\zeta\omega\eta$ take the place of $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ where the latter is applied to a beast,—“beast for beast,”² literally “life for life” in the individual sense; though $\zeta\omega\eta$ is constantly attributed to animals as well as to men,—for example, where the flood is said to have destroyed “all flesh, wherein is the breath of life ($\zeta\omega\eta\varsigma$).” In a word, $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ is the *individualised life*, confined to the particular creature, and it is this sense that affords the common footing for the renderings *life* and *soul*, which sometimes really overlap one another: $\zeta\omega\eta$, on the other hand, is the *general stock of life*, so to say, of which the $\zeta\omega\eta$ of each is a share;³ hence $\zeta\omega\eta$ is the word in Acts xvii. 25, “seeing he himself giveth to all *life* and breath and all things.” A happy illustration of this distinction occurs in Abigail’s speech to David: ⁴ “The $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ of my lord shall be bound up in the bundle of $\zeta\omega\eta$ with the Lord thy God; but the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ of thine enemies (each and all of them) shall he sling out, as out of the middle of a sling.” And again, in Psalm lxx. 9, LXX., “God . . . which hath brought my $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ into $\zeta\omega\eta$.” Hence $\zeta\omega\eta$ $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$, “the life of an individual life,” is a possible phrase,⁵ but not $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ $\zeta\omega\eta\varsigma$ except as a Hebraism for $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ $\zeta\omega\sigma\alpha$.

This distinction is not undermined even in those passages where the words are used synonymously. In Psalm xxvi. 9, “Gather not my soul with sinners, nor my life with bloody men,” the Septuagint has $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ in the first clause, and its

¹ 2 Sam. xix. 5.

² Lev. xxiv. 18.

³ Hesychius gives as one of his definitions of $\zeta\omega\eta$, $\eta\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\ \zeta\eta\acute{\nu}\ \chi\omicron\rho\eta\gamma\iota\lambda\alpha$, “the supply for the purpose of living.”

⁴ 1 Sam. xxv. 29.

⁵ Compare 2 Sam. xi. 11, according to one reading.

true sense is shewn by the parallelism of ζωή in the second ; but the ψυχή is the individual life and ζωή is limited by the possessive. The same may be said of Psalm lxxxviii. 3, "My ψυχὴ is full of troubles, and my ζωὴ draweth nigh unto Sheol;" and of Psalm xxxiv. 12, "What man is he that desireth life (θέλων ζωὴν, life generally) and loveth (ἀγαπῶν) many days," as compared with Proverbs xv. 32 (LXX.), "He that observeth reproof loveth his life (ἀγαπᾷ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ) ; or, better still, with John xii. 25, "He that loveth his life (φιλῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ) loseth it;" the latter clause of which verse, "He that hateth his life (μισῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ) in this world shall keep it unto life (ζωὴν) eternal," may likewise be compared with Ecclesiastes ii. 17, "Therefore I hated life (ἐμίσησα τὴν ζωὴν, life generally, as a state for myself), because the work that is wrought under the sun was grievous unto me." In all these passages the distinction may, without fancifulness, be consistently discerned.

A better instance of the contrast between ζωὴ and ψυχὴ could hardly be found than in the parable of the Good Shepherd. "The thief cometh not but that he may steal, and kill, and destroy; I came that they might have life (ζωὴν) and might have it more abundantly."¹ The primary meaning of ζωὴ here, in the framework of the parable, is ordinary life as opposed to ordinary death, and this life not individualised; but in verses that follow,—vv. 11, 15, 17,—the individual life of the Good Shepherd is denoted by ψυχὴ: "The good shepherd layeth down his life (τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ) for the sheep;" "I lay down my life (τὴν ψυχὴν μου) for the sheep;" "I lay down my life (τὴν ψυχὴν μου) that I may take it again." This "it" stands of course for τὴν ψυχὴν; accordingly we may observe in passing that the contrast here between ζωὴ and ψυχὴ is not a contrast of heavenly and earthly life, but of substance and individual-

¹ John x. 10.

isation. The idea of individuality is strong in Leviticus xvii. 11, 14, "The life ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) of all flesh is in the blood," where nothing more appears to be meant, physically and literally, than that, when the blood goes from the individual, the individual life goes with it, and the blood is consequently made a "conventional hieroglyphic" for the life,¹ an idea that we find expressed in Aristophanes under the same use of $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, when Strepsiades, in the *Clouds* (line 712), cries out that the vermin are "draining his life" ($\tau\eta\nu\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$). It is noticeable that in verses 10-15 of the above chapter in Leviticus, $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ is used indifferently, now for the individual life, now for the living individual ("The life of the flesh is in the blood;" "No soul (or life) of you shall eat blood"), the sense of individuality being the common ground. Nor does Philo ignore the difference between $\zeta\omega\eta$ and $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ when, in allegorising a similar passage,² he speaks of an $\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\omega\eta$ and, further on, of an $\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta$: the former, $\eta\ \epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\eta\ \zeta\omega\eta$, "the life depending on blood and cognizable by the senses," is a life of which we may be *companions* ($\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\iota$), and so be assailed by that disposition which is deft at dispersing piety; the latter, $\eta\ \epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, "the *individual* life depending on blood," the life in which "the help of the Lord" has not been born.³

It seems clear therefore that, in sacred literature, $\zeta\omega\eta$ is the abstract general word, $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ the particular and concrete; and that while $\zeta\omega\eta$ may be appropriated and particularised, $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ cannot be dispersed and generalised, so as to be life in the abstract or in distribution.

This distinction may very well have its roots in the earliest known usage of the two words. Homer's only sense of $\zeta\omega\eta$

¹ That the blood was literally the seat and substratum of the soul was the opinion of Critias.

² Genesis ix. 4, "Flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof."

³ Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*, chap. xii.

(and he uses it but twice) is not *life*, but *sustenance*,—something external to the individual and appropriated in part by him. Ζωὴ ἄσπετος is the “boundless store” which the troop of Penelope’s wooers in the palace of the absent Odysseus had not yet utterly consumed:¹ and ζωὴ πολλή was the “abundant store” of the piratical Eupheithes which Odysseus had once protected against the wrathful Ithacans when they sought to swallow it up,² (καταφαγέειν). This sense, though a rare one, is found also in Herodotus³ and Aristotle; in Ecclesiasticus iv. 1, “My son, defraud not the poor of his living (τὴν ζωὴν)”; probably in Proverbs xxiii. 3, “Be not desirous of his dainties; for they are deceitful meat”—LXX. (ἐδέσματα) ἔχεται ζωῆς ψεύδους, “they lay hold on the victual of a lie,” (Vulgate, *in quo est panis mendacii*); and apparently in Proverbs xxvii. 27, where the Hebrew equivalent for “Thou shalt have goat’s milk for thy food” is strangely different from the Septuagint, which reads, ἔχεις ῥήσεις ἰσχυρὰς εἰς τὴν ζωὴν σου,—“Thou hast *strong sayings* for thy sustenance”; and this though the context is obviously material. Ψυχή, on the contrary, in Homer is the *breath* in or proceeding from the person, and hence the *personal life*; conceived also as a real substance, a life principle that can leave the body through the mouth or through a wound; and hence the soul as opposed to the body.⁴ The quasi-external sense of ζωὴ was not lost in its post-Homeric development, and the personal force of ψυχὴ remained undiminished. The idea of individuality and concreteness in Nestor’s phrase, when he speaks of pirates as men who “put their lives in doubt,” ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι,⁵ is found, for example (if indeed it be necessary to quote instances), in Herodotus when Demaratus tells how the Greeks “adorn their heads when they are about to risk their life,”

¹ Odyssey xiv. 96.² xvi. 429.³ Cf. ii. 177; viii. 105.⁴ Compare the article already referred to, *EXPOSITOR*, vol. xii.⁵ Homer Odyssey, iii. 75.

κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ; ¹ a thought which Polybius expresses ² by κινδυνεύειν τῷ βίῳ, when describing how Theodotus the Ætolian had stood in danger of being assassinated by the favourites of Ptolemy his master; but ψυχῇ is the more personal word. Again, in Thucydides (i. 136), Themistocles, as a suppliant at the hearth of Admetus, the king of the Molossi, makes τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι, "bodily safety," the exact equivalent of σωτηρία τῆς ψυχῆς, "security of life," the *individual* life being referred to in both expressions. Plato indeed has a ψυχῇ κόσμου, a "soul of the world"; the human soul, however, is not a part of this world-soul, but only made after its likeness; so that the ψυχῇ κόσμου is not as it were a common stock from which each man draws. Aristotle, again, makes ζωὴ not the life as individualised, but the principle of life, ³ and defines it to be ἐνέργεια ψυχῆς, that is, what conducts to actuality or realisation all the powers of the ψυχῇ; and likewise (that we may bring to bear the other sense of ἐνέργεια) what is itself the realization or actuality of the powers of the ψυχῇ. To put this conception in other words, ζωὴ is a name for the means by which the ψυχῇ is developed, and also for the state to which the ψυχῇ by development attains. He includes ζωὴ in the chain of the universe, a chain with potentiality (or power not in exercise) at one end, and actuality at the other; the potentiality (δύναμις) having no value or existence except when viewed in its work of development, in exercise and in achievement (ἀνάγεται εἰς τὴν ἐνέργειαν); and ζωὴ, as a δύναμις, operates in ψυχῇ as its sphere, effecting perception in animals, and thought in human beings. ⁴ Thus ζωὴ is the constitution of the ψυχῇ, without which it could not be or act as a ψυχῇ. Nor does Plato contradict this function of ζωὴ when he speaks of the ψυχῇ as "bringing ζωὴ," ⁵ for he is here dealing with the body as lifeless without the

¹ Herodotus, vii. 209.² v. 61.³ Nicomachean Ethics, i. 7. 12.⁴ Compare Ethics, ix. 9.⁵ Phædo, 105 D. Cratylus, 399 E.

ψυχή; neither is Aristotle inconsistent with himself when he calls ψυχή the ἀρχὴ ζωῆς, "the principle of life," that by which we live and perceive and think;¹ for he also is referring to life as individualised in the ψυχή and manifested in the body.

The atmosphere of this radical distinction floats also about the verbal compounds; take, for example, ἀψυχος, "without a (personal) life"; ἔμψυχος "endowed with a life"; λιποψυχεῖν "to leave one's life behind"; ψυχομαχεῖν "to fight for dear life"; and many others might be quoted which have a similar reference to the individuality. On the other hand, compounds of ζωή, like ζωογονεῖν, ζωοποιεῖν, may all have ψυχή for their object; as, for instance, in Luke xvii. 33, "whosoever shall lose his life (ψυχὴν) shall save it alive (ζωογονήσει)."

It is in consequence of the individual inner property of ψυχή that the word, variously translated, can connote appetite, emotion, personal energy or force of character. Such phrases as "Thy soul (ψυχή) longeth to eat flesh" (Deut. xii. 20), "Soul (ψυχή), . . . take thine ease, eat, drink and be merry" (Luke xii. 19), "Whatsoever ye do, work heartily (ἐκ ψυχῆς)," have their classical parallels. Socrates, in his panegyric on Nicocles, uses the expression τῇ ψυχῇ ποιῆσαι, "to do with all the heart," and he speaks elsewhere of the power of men to tame the ψυχὰς of wild beasts. Cambyses, according to Herodotus (iii. 14), made trial of the ψυχή of Psammenitus by imposing slave work upon his daughter. Xenophon tells of Agesilaus² that whenever he engaged in battle he brought away clear proofs of having fought bravely (Xenophon refers to wounds in front), "so that men could test his spirit (αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν δοκιμάζειν) not by hearsay but by seeing for themselves." So also Polybius (ii. 20, 7), ἔμενον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, "They (the Insubres)

¹ *De Anima*, ii. 2. 12.

² *Agesilaus*, vi. 4.

stood their ground spiritedly" (with their spirits), though they were being mowed down by the Romans. Plutarch likewise¹ speaks of τὸ χαῖρον τῆς ψυχῆς, "the part of the ψυχὴ that is touched by joy." Then there is μεγαλοψυχία, the grand virtue of the philosophers, which Aristotle defines² to be "a depth and greatness of the ψυχὴ," that is, as we should say, of the character.³ But as ζωὴ is that by which the ψυχὴ lives, we cannot be surprised that ζωὴ should be preferred when *activity* is to be expressed. Hence the adjective ζωτικὸς goes a step beyond ψυχικός. The latter signifies "belonging to life," and, in the New Testament, "belonging to the life of this world;" but ζωτικὸς is *lively*, with life in full health and vigour; and Galen could accordingly denominate a high-spirited or passionate temperament a ζωτικὴ ψυχὴ; while Plato had already made similar use of the word when, in the discussion on the Republic (610 E.), Glaucon declared that injustice "endowed its possessor with peculiar vitality (τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ μαλὰ ζωτικὸν παρέχουσιν), and sleeplessness as well as vitality." The verb ζάω, too, seems to take the highest place, a place higher than βιώω, as describing the life worth living. Dion Cassius relates how Similis was promoted by Trajan to the command of the Guards, but, finding the post a weariness, resigned it seven years before his death to retire into private life; and then Dion gives us his epitaph: Σίμιλις μὲν ἐνταῦθα κεῖται, βιοῦς μὲν ἔτη τόσα, ζήσας δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ. "Here lies Similis, having lived so many years, but having (really) lived seven years." Menander also appears to have made use of the two words for a similar paradox, if a fragment from the Πλόκιον be rightly completed with the aid of Seneca who quotes it:

¹ *Morals*, 705 A.

² *De Virtutibus*, v.

³ So even of character in its weakness. Agesilaus, we are told, rejoiced in his superiority over the Persian king, who shrunk from heat and cold δι' ἀσθένειαν ψυχῆς. (*Xenoph. Ages.* ix.).

"It is but a small part of life (*βίος*) wherein we (really) live (*ζῶμεν*)."¹ There is no corresponding verbal form of *ψυχή*, signifying *to live*, though a transitive form *ψυχόω* is found with the meaning, "I endow with life," a verb applied by Philo to the rod of Moses (*ραβδὸς ψυχωθεῖσα*).² Pythagoras, again, calls God the "mind and life-principle (*ψύχωσις*) of all beings;"³ Gregory Nazianzen similarly speaks of Him as the "life-principle (*ψύχωσις*) of living things (*ζῶον*);"⁴ and Theophylact (Ep. i.) has the passage, "Us, who were dead through a polluted life (*βίῳ*), thou by thy writings hast quickened (*ἐψυχώσας*) to virtue." But, notwithstanding exceptional cases, *ζωή* and its derivatives are the natural and usual words for life in its activity and fulness; and hence we can readily understand how the New Testament writers preferred to express by *ζωή* the life that was "the light of men;" and, by *ζωοποιῶν* (not *ψυχοποιῶν*) *πνεῦμα*, the active, new-creating agency, the "second man," Christ, in contradistinction to the passively receptive *ψυχὴ ζῶσα*, the "first man, Adam."⁵ It is the *πνεῦμα* or *πνοή ζωής* that constitutes the individual *ψυχή*,⁶ whether of the lower or of the higher nature, of animals or of men; and this *πνεῦμα* is represented as coming from God, "in whom we live (*ζῶμεν*)," through the Word who is "the life." Consequently, in Biblical Greek, *ζωή* is more nearly related to *πνεῦμα* than to *ψυχή*; and while God is called *πνεῦμα*, and, in the "Word," is called *ζωή*, He is never called *ψυχή*. And just as *πνεῦμα* in the New Testament is frequently the *ψυχή* glorified, so also is *ζωή* the glorified condition of the *ψυχή*. It is that to which the *ψυχή* may rise: "Whosoever shall lose his life (*ψυχὴν*) shall save it alive (*ζωογονήσει*);"⁷ for it is

¹ Philo, *Life of Moses*, i. 14.

² Pythag. in Clement of Alexandria, 62.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 45.

⁴ Gen. ii. 7.

⁵ Luke xvii. 33. Compare 1 Cor. v. 5, "That the *πνεῦμα* may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

the "life of God" from which the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ that lives in sin is estranged ("alienated from the life of God— $\tau\eta\varsigma \zeta\omega\eta\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ —because of the ignorance that is in them"),¹ that life which has its beginning even in this mortal state, ("so far as I now live— $\zeta\omega$ —in the flesh, I live— $\zeta\omega$ —in faith"),² and of which, through Christ, all-restored $\psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ shall in due time fully partake: "For ye died, and your life ($\zeta\omega\eta$) is hid with Christ in God. When Christ who is our life ($\zeta\omega\eta$) shall be manifested, then shall ye also with him be manifested in glory."

This sense of the "higher life" reminds us of another distinction between the two words. The abstract quasi-detached sphere in which $\zeta\omega\eta$ moves, makes it (what the concrete appropriated $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ is not) the fit expression for life in regard to its manner and duration. The second part of Hesychius' definition of $\zeta\omega\eta$ already referred to is $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$, "the time, the duration of being." Thus we can speak of $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \zeta\omega\eta$, "endless life,"³ but not of $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, in the same sense, though of course an *immortal soul* could enjoy that life. Equally restricted, no doubt, would be the usage with the adjective $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$; at any rate, while $\zeta\omega\eta \alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ frequently occurs, $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma \psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ is nowhere found; and in the apparently correlative expression $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\nu \pi\acute{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ of Hebrews ix. 14 ("who through eternal spirit offered himself without spot to God"),—where $\pi\acute{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ is not the personal Holy Spirit but a quality of our Lord's nature,—the close relationship of $\pi\acute{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ and $\zeta\omega\eta$ before noticed should be kept in mind. Again, the phrases $\xi\tau\eta \zeta\omega\eta\varsigma$, $\eta\acute{\mu}\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota \zeta\omega\eta\varsigma$, are common enough in the Septuagint; and, at Proverbs iii. 2, $\xi\tau\eta \zeta\omega\eta\varsigma$ is put parallel with $\mu\eta\acute{\kappa}\omicron\varsigma \beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$, "length of life"; but $\xi\tau\eta, \eta\acute{\mu}\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$ as *years* or *days of life* would be a solecism, as also would be the substitution of $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ for $\zeta\omega\eta$ in the passage, "Thou in thy life

¹ Eph. iv. 18.² Gal. ii. 20.³ Hebrews vii. 16.

time (ζωή) didst receive in full thy good things";¹ or of ψυχῆς for τοῦ ζῆν in Hebrews ii. 15, διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας, "were all their life-time subject to bondage." Neither, on the side of *manner*, can we speak of μακαρία ψυχή, "a happy life," though the same expression might stand for a "happy soul"; such combinations, on the other hand, as μακαρία ζωή are common enough, as where Plato, for instance,² is recalling the life of the golden age; and in both the Old and the New Testament ζωή is found alone to denote life with all its blessings.³ Under *manner*, *conduct* is naturally classified; and here the ζωή of sacred literature is particularly strong: to it has been transferred the ethical idea that so often attached itself to the classical βίος. But, if I understand Archbishop Trench rightly, I am inclined to question his accuracy when he denies to the ζωή of classical Greek any inherent ethical sense. If it be used, as at times it is, like βίος, for life as to its manner, and not merely for life in opposition to death, then we cannot but expect to find ζωή, occasionally at any rate, with an ethical colour. And that such a usage was recognized in the best age of Greek, is clear from Plato's *Republic*, 521 A: where Socrates, in speaking of the eagerness for power, is made to say: "If you can invent for the destined rulers a life (βίον) better than ruling, you may possibly realize a well-governed city: for only in such a city will the rulers be those who are really rich, not in gold, but in a wise and virtuous life (ζωῆς ἀγαθῆς τε καὶ ἑμφρονος) which is the wealth essential to a happy man."⁴ Here, and in Plato's frequent conjunction of the verb ζῆν with the adverbs εὖ, καλῶς and the like, we have surely a foretaste of the ζωή καὶ εὐσέβεια, the "life and godliness," of 2 Peter i. 3; the ὄντως ζωή, the "life

¹ Luke xvi. 25.² *Laws*, 713 c.³ Cf. Psalm xxxvi. 8, 9; Rom. viii. 6, and especially Ecclesiastes ix. 9, where the A.V. "live joyfully" is, in the Septuagint ἰδε ζωῆν, "see life," a literal translation of the Hebrew.⁴ Davies and Vaughan's translation of the passage.

indeed," of 1 Timothy vi. 19; and the ζῶντες ὄντως, the "truly living," of Philo (*Quis rerum*, xi.), those who are not dead to the ψυχῆς βίος, that is, the ethical life of the inward man, as contrasted with the life among the "shows of things." And, whether or not an ethical sense be granted to the classical ζωή, this ὄντως ζωή attracts us strongly to the belief that the exalted use of the word—first found in the Scriptures, because, as Archbishop Trench says, the Scriptures first made death the consequence of sin, and therefore life the consequence of holiness,—has a legitimate basis in the Aristotelian conception of ζωή as an ἐνέργεια ψυχῆς, an internal developing energy producing inward and outward results, itself both the means of attainment and the condition attained. According to Aristotle, God is the ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ,¹ "the principle of transition in the soul"; He is the "eternal prius of all development," and "all things else seek to become like Him." His mode of activity—an activity not leading in his case to development—is absolute thought, and this ἐνέργεια constitutes ζωή in the highest and most blessed sense: "so that to God belong life (ζωή) and perpetual and unending eternity."² And elsewhere he says³: "The ἐνέργεια of God is immortality (ἀθανασία), and this is unending life (ζωή)." Life therefore is, with Aristotle, to be found, in its fulness, only in God; and all things else "seek God, if haply they might feel after him and find him."⁴ In Him is the ὄντως ζωή (to apply a Pauline phrase once more to Aristotle's thought); this "life" is to Him—the most perfect of beings—blessedness, and the blessedness Aristotle calls an ἐνέργεια. But Aristotle also defines ζωή to be an ἐνέργεια ψυχῆς, so is it therefore the name for the means and condition of that full and harmonious realization of the soul's powers which is Divine perfection and blessedness.

¹ *Eth. Eudem.* vii. 14.

² *De Calo*, ii. 3.

³ *Metaph.* xii. 7.

⁴ *Acts* xvii. 27.

The perfection which Aristotle views as "absolute thought," is viewed in the Scriptures as absolute moral goodness: "Every one that hath this hope set on him purifieth himself even as he is pure;"¹ "Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life? And he said unto him, Why askest thou me concerning that which is good? One there is who is good; but if thou wouldest enter into life keep the commandments."² And the condition of "eternal life" is to "know" this absolutely good Being,³ this knowledge being by no possibility theoretical only, but effective for practical issues: "We shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."⁴ To this end (τὸ δὲ τέλος ζωῆν αἰώνιον, Rom. vi. 22), the ζωή, the life of God, which is already in principle the possession of the believer, develops the personal life, the real personality, the inward man: "So then death worketh (ἐνεργεῖται) in us, but life (ζωή) in you."⁵ This life is, in Aristotle's language, ψυχῆς ἐνέργεια κατ' ἀρετήν, "an energy of the soul in accordance with moral excellence," resulting first in the "performance of the peculiar work which belongs to man as man;"⁶ secondly, in a complementary εὐδαιμονία, τὸ εὖ ζῆν, *happiness, well-living*; and, finally, in that highest form of εὐδαιμονία which proceeds from absolute knowledge. But this knowledge in the Gospel is far more deeply and distinctly ethical than the knowledge in Aristotle;⁷ for it is a knowledge not of absolute thought, but of the Absolute Good, and includes the necessary moral effects upon those who know Him, the blessedness which comes from knowing and being like "the blessed God" (ὁ μακάριος Θεός, 1 Tim. i. 11). Nevertheless the ideas of ζωή in Aristotle and in the Bible have this

¹ 1 John iii. 3.² Matt. xix. 16-18.³ John xvii. 3.⁴ 1 John iii. 2.⁵ 2 Cor. iv. 12.⁶ Compare *Eth. Nic.*, i. 6; x. 7.⁷ In Aristotle the exercise of the moral virtues yields a satisfaction of an inferior kind.

common ground, that ζωή in its true sense is the actuality of the ψυχή, the perfect realization of the personality, in an acquired likeness to God.

A similar development of the ψυχή accords with the ideas of Philo. Amid much that is wildly allegorical and un-Biblically material, he contends for a true ζωή and a true ψυχή. The latter he calls¹ the "soul of the soul," or as we might say, "the innermost man," or the "better nature." The ζωή that man lives is real or unreal according as this "dominant part"—the part not "dependent" on flesh and blood but "breathed into man by God from above"—rules or is ruled. For, says he, "there are three kinds of life; the first, to God; the second, to the creature; the third, on the borders of both, being compounded of the two. Now the life to God has not descended to us nor has it come to the necessities of the body. And the life with respect to the creature has neither ascended in any wise to heaven nor has it sought to ascend; but it lurks in unapproachable recesses, and rejoices in a life which is no life (τῷ ἀβιώτῳ βίῳ). And the mingled kind is that which has often ascended, being led thither by the better part, and looks into divine things, and is divinely inspired; but yet often turns back, dragged the contrary way by the worse part." And again, there are times when "the portion of the better life (ἡ τῆς κρείττονος ζωῆς μοῖρα) outweighs the whole." Who does not see here a picture of the development of the ψυχή in its onward progress—first, in the life to the flesh—then in the life of struggle, the flesh lusting against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh—lastly, in the life to God in heaven, the "crown of victory" which comes to "self-denial and a life of seeking after knowledge," those "elder children of wisdom?"²

This is the development, the transition (κίνησις, as Aristotle would phrase it) to which Jesus refers when He

¹ *Quis heres*, chap. xi.

² See Philo, *Quis rerum*, ix.

counsels the "loss" of the *ψυχή* in order that it may be found or "saved alive" (*ζωογονεῖν*), Luke xvii. 33); and the "hatred" of the *ψυχή* in order that it may be "kept" unto the *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* (John xii. 25). *Πνεῦμα* is indeed preferred to *ψυχή*, as we have said before, to describe the organisation of the renewed life, both in this world¹ and in the world to come;² nevertheless *ψυχή* is the individual life all the while,³ yet so glorified by the abnegation of self—or, to use Philo's phrases again, by the spoiling of the "life to the creature" (*πρὸς γενέσσω*), the march through the "border-life" (*μεθόριον*), and the "crown of victory" (cf. *Μωϋσῆς . . . στεφανώσας*) at the last—that the *ψυχή*, living now ideally or completely "to God" (*πρὸς Θεόν*), is known by another name, *πνεῦμα*, a name that does not recall the *σάρξ*, the "body of humiliation," the fetters of the earthly organism. But *ζωή* remains in use still, and stands for the new life as it stood for the old; for *ζωή* has no dyslogistic sense, and has only found means of realizing itself in the *ψυχή* by the process through which the individual life has passed; it has reached that which *ζωή* ought to be, "the life indeed," the harmonious activity of all the powers according to the nature that was primarily in the image of God. The *ζωή* even of Christ realized itself, as *our* life, by the death through which the *ψυχή* passed and in and through which it was "saved." That *locus classicus* of the Old Testament idea of sacrifice, Leviticus xvii. 11, has something to say here: "For the life (*ψυχή*) of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your lives; for the blood atones for the life." The death of the animal sacrificed had been the substitute for the death which the sinner freely accepted as the penalty of his sin;

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 17. "He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit."

² Heb. xii. 23. "The spirits of just men made perfect."

³ John x. 17. "I lay down my *ψυχή* that I may take it again."

and by a "conventional hieroglyphic" the warm life-blood of the victim, as it were the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ saved in death and through death, stood for the redeemed $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ of the sinner. This blood was straightway taken into the Holy Place and sprinkled upon the horns of the altar; in other words, the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ of the sinner, which had been yielded up to death in the sacrifice, was now brought into loving communion with a reconciled God and into immediate contact with the power ("the horns") which could make reconciliation complete in sanctification. In the same way, the *blood* of Jesus,—his $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, according to the Old Testament Levitical idea,—no mere concrete symbol of an abstract $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, was not the *death* by which sinners are reconciled to God who no longer imputes their trespasses unto them;¹ but the *life*, the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, which was presented through eternal spirit (that is, after his resurrection) to God, and by which sinners are "cleansed to serve the living God."² But here again $\zeta\omega\eta$ is the word, and not $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, to express vigorously and clearly the idea of activity and communication by Christ to others beyond Himself: "For if, while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son; much more, having been reconciled, we shall be saved in his life ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\eta\ \zeta\omega\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$)," ³ that is, in Christ's life as it pervades and envelops our life and transforms it. Yet Christ has not merely abstract $\zeta\omega\eta$; He has an individual $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ now as much as ever He had.

The words of Jesus in Matthew xvi. 25, 26, and the parallel passages, may be called "the parable of the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ ": "Whosoever would save his life ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it. For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his life? or what shall a man give in

¹ 2 Cor. v. 19.

² Heb. ix. 14. See a note on this subject by Professor Milligan in his Croall Lecture, "The Resurrection of the Lord," page 263.

³ Rom. v. 10.

exchange for his life?" The Revisers have carried the rendering *life* all the way through the passage, instead of translating $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ sometimes by *life* and sometimes by *soul*; and correctly, as it seems to us; for it is the literal life which is the basis and the context of the teaching. There are two kinds of $\zeta\omega\eta$ even in this world, as the Son of Sirach had taught long before: "Weep for the dead, for he hath lost the light; and weep for the fool, for he wanteth understanding: make little weeping for the dead, for he is at rest; *but the life ($\zeta\omega\eta$) of the fool is worse than death.* Seven days do men mourn for him that is dead; *but for a fool and an ungodly man all the days of his life ($\zeta\omega\eta$).*" So also, even in this world, are there two kinds of $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$: and these two kinds of personal life Jesus seeks to present vividly to his disciples, striving to goad their thought by antithesis and paradox; in the way so common with Him, blending together the earthly and the heavenly, and passing on from the one to the other without being careful to mark a transition between worlds which, before his penetrating gaze, were but as shadow and substance; for

"Meadow, grove, and stream,
And earth, and every common sight
To Him did seem
Apparelled in celestial light."

Jesus is using the literal loss and gain of literal life, with the consequences thereof, as a parable by which to indicate what the loss and gain of the real life, the self, really are. "Will you not," He seems to say, "by giving up your personal life in its lower form—the *self* which alone, to the lower nature, makes life worth living—find a personal life that is really worth living, an $\delta\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma \zeta\omega\eta$ which is, to each person, an $\delta\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma \psi\upsilon\chi\eta$?" The life that is "worse than death" must be surrendered: to this we must die in order that we may truly live. We find a key to the interpretation in the parallel passage of John: "Except a grain

of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth by itself alone ; but if it die, it beareth much fruit. He that loveth his life ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) loseth it ; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life ($\zeta\omega\eta$) eternal."¹ The $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ (the individual life) that individualises itself so completely as to live to itself, "abideth alone," in that state of isolation from God and from man which is and will be death ; but that which "dies," which sinks the evil natural individuality in "living to God," and therefore to fellow-man, "beareth much fruit" ; life in its fullest activity for itself and for other lives.² If then our Lord used literal death merely as a veil for the deeper truth, it was not his aim, in these passages at any rate, to teach that the loss of existence in this world for his sake secures existence in the next ; any more than He teaches elsewhere that the cutting off of the right hand in this world for his sake secures the whole body in the next.³ The loss of the literal life for Christ's sake is only the occasional incarnation of the spiritual ideal. In the death of Christ Himself we learn the meaning of love, and that expression of Christ's love must be the rule of our life. "Every deed of love," says Haupt, "is a laying down of the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, a denying of the $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ as a personality for the sake of a brother."⁴ Only by this daily abnegation of self, a surer test and discipline than even the literal death which is its symbol, can the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ become a glorified $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, and be "supplied" for ever⁵ with the $\zeta\omega\eta$ of God.

JOHN MASSIE.

¹ John xii. 24, 25.

² 2 Cor. iv. 12 : "Death worketh in us" (witness the outward symbol of the inward death) "but life in you."

³ Matt. v. 30.

⁴ Note on 1 John iii. 16 : "Hereby know we love, because he laid down his life ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) for us : and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren"—an argument from which John at once infers the duty of generosity.

⁵ Compare the definition of $\zeta\omega\eta$ already quoted from Hesychius : $\eta\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\beta\ \xi\eta\nu\ \chi\omicron\omicron\pi\eta\gamma\iota\alpha\ \eta\ \chi\omicron\pi\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota$; also Philippians i. 19, "I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your supplication and the supply ($\epsilon\pi\iota\chi\omicron\pi\eta\gamma\iota\alpha$) of the spirit of Jesus Christ."

BRIEF NOTICE.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF ST. PAUL, *By Alfred Dewes, LL.D., D.D.* (London: Longmans.) To this very curious and able book the space at our command will not permit us to do justice; we can but briefly indicate its excellences and defects.

Dissatisfied with the Revised Version as a translation, though he admits its excellence as a literal version of the Greek, Dr. Dewes—well known to a few of us by his “Plea for a new Translation of the Scriptures” published fifteen years ago—set himself to produce a translation of St. Paul’s Epistles which, in addition to being accurate, should be idiomatic, forcible, and, above all, intelligible to every thoughtful reader, however unlearned. He has followed the text of Drs. Westcott and Hort. He has taken the Epistles in their chronological order. He has prefixed to every Epistle a brief yet sufficient introduction; while, as introduction to the whole work, he has written a short life of St. Paul, which, brief as it is, contains all the facts necessary to a right understanding of his character and works. And all this he has accomplished in an octavo volume of some 270 pages, 40 of which are occupied by a Preface in which he acquaints us with the aim he has set before him and the motives by which he has been inspired!

His chief aim is, as we have said, to give a readable and intelligible translation of St. Paul’s Epistles, to render them in clear and forcible words, and so to bring out the force of mood, tense, and particle, that all men, if they will, may grasp and follow the Apostle’s arguments. This most worthy aim he seems to us to have in large measure attained. With due allowance for certain oddities or peculiarities of punctuation and in the use of capital letters, which are a little trying at first, and granting him certain dubious substitutions—as “outward mark” for “circumcision”—prompted by motives of delicacy, however little they may subserve them, we have to say that, in our judgment, any thoughtful man may read this translation with interest and with profit, and may by a wise use of it come much nearer to the Apostle’s real meaning than he can do by perusing either the Authorised or the Revised Version.

At times no doubt Dr. Dewes yields to the baneful temptation which besets all translators, and makes changes for the mere sake of change, changes which add nothing to the meaning of a phrase, while yet they spoil its beautiful or familiar rhythm; *e.g.* 2 Corin-

thians ii. 11, where "his devices are not unknown to us" is substituted for "we are not ignorant of his devices"; and Chapter v. 15, where the rendering, "He died for all, that they who *live no longer* should live for themselves," is not only no improvement on that of the Revised Version, "should *no longer live* for themselves," but absolutely beclouds the meaning of the Apostle, and puts the reader in imminent danger of reducing it to mere nonsense.

But, on the whole and in the main, it must be confessed that the renderings of Dr. Dewes give clearness and force to these inspired Letters, while they often bring out some latent metaphor or some subtle link of thought. As an instance of more terse and telling translation, we may take the final clause of Chapter vii. 5 in the Epistle we have already cited (2 Corinthians), and from which all our illustrations will be selected: "On every side afflictions beset us; *fightings without, fears within*," where by a defter turn of the sentence he gets rid of the italicised words employed both in the Authorised and in the Revised Versions,—"*without were* fightings, *within were* fears." As an illustration of more clear and forcible rendering, a rendering too which brings out implied and additional details, we may cite at least the latter part of his translation of Chapter x. 3-5: "For though we live in the flesh we do not follow the guidance of the flesh in our warfare. The weapons of our warfare are not such as the flesh uses; but mighty before God for the casting down of strongholds. We cast down reasonings, and *every high place* that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God; and we lead captive every intent of the mind, till we bring it *where* Christ is obeyed." Here no doubt Verse 3 is, at least in its second clause, given in better form in our Authorised Version, "For though we *walk* in the flesh we do not *war* after the flesh"—a clear and sharp antithesis which grows very faint in the cumbrous and clumsy phrase which Dr. Dewes puts in its place. But by getting rid of the parenthesis in Verse 4, by commencing a new sentence with Verse 5, and, above all, by inserting the indications of structure and place in this Verse, he gives both simplicity and animation to his rendering of a difficult passage: while if, as the best commentators assert, St. Paul here regards Corinth as a citadel of truth from which he and his followers were to sally forth against the high structures of error which their adversaries had raised against them, and to which, after conquering them, they were to lead them back, now subdued and made obedient down to

the very thoughts and intents of their hearts, he has obviously done much to suggest the Apostle's meaning. For a slighter, yet characteristic and valuable example, we may turn to Chapter xii. 15, where he reads, "I however very gladly will *spend*, and be myself *utterly spent* for your souls"; but where the Revised Version somewhat tamely reads, in the text, "And I will most gladly spend and be spent for your souls," although in the margin it suggests that "spent" should be "spent out." Various attempts have been made to give the force of the Greek verb which St. Paul here employs, using in the second instance the strengthened and reinforced form of it (*δαπανήσω* and *ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι*), as "spend and be spent to the uttermost," or "spend and *expend* myself," or "spend and even *beggar* myself"; but whatever form may be preferred, it cannot be denied that Dr. Dewes has seized upon the Apostle's thought and happily expressed it.

As an illustration of his habit of drawing out a latent metaphor we may quote his rendering of Chapter xii. 9: "Most gladly will I rather boast of my weaknesses, that the might of Christ *like a tent* may protect me." Here both the Authorised and Revised Versions give in the final clause the comparatively inexpressive verb, "may rest upon me," though the latter puts in the margin, "or cover me: Gr. *spread a tabernacle over me*," while Mr. Waite renders the clause "that the power of Christ may *tabernacle* upon me."

It would be easy to add to these illustrations; but perhaps enough have been cited to suggest the interest and worth which Dr. Dewes's book will have for all readers and students of the New Testament.

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THE REPROACH OF THE CRETANS.

"Cretans are always liars, evil wild-beasts, idle bellies."—*Titus* i. 12.

MANY a reader of St. Paul must have been inwardly troubled by this sentence. It is a charge of the severest possible kind, couched in rough and almost savage terms; and it is applied in the most sweeping style to a whole people, and that a people amongst whom, as De Wette remarks, the Gospel had found such favourable acceptance that in a few years several Churches had been founded, Churches so important that Titus, one of the Apostle's oldest and most trusted fellow-labourers, was appointed to take charge of them. One is inclined to think this a hard and unwarrantable judgment in the mouth of the Apostle. True he pronounces on the Gentile world at large, in the First Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, a judgment far more terrible and scathing than this; but there he proceeds with a measured judicial solemnity and exhibits a profound moral insight which compel us to feel that his words are "words of truth and soberness." It must be confessed that the words before us leave a different impression. There is something harsh and crude, not to say rasping and vindictive, about them that ill becomes the lips of St. Paul. Such a dictum, moreover, is as difficult to reconcile with the exquisite tact and courteous regard to the susceptibilities of his readers which the writer of the Corinthian Epistles shews, as with the kindness and large-hearted charity which were characteristic of the Apostle. We cannot suppose, nor do the tone and spirit of the Pastoral Epistles generally indicate, that old age and imprisonment had so weakened the judgment or soured the temper of St.

Paul as to make it possible for him to borrow a rude and vulgar sarcasm, such as this appears to be, in order to fling it at a people to whose chief pastor he is writing, and in a letter which, as he might expect, would be published before long to them and to all the world.

Moreover, we cannot readily imagine that any Cretan poet would have penned such a censure on his fellow-countrymen; or that, if he had done so, it would have gained the general credence and currency implied in St. Paul's use of it, according to the common supposition. At any rate the evidence by which it is fathered on Epimenides deserves to be narrowly scrutinized; especially as he is a poet only known to us by traditions of a highly mythical character, and of whom it is questionable whether any written remains were extant in St. Paul's day. There is, no doubt, considerable testimony in ancient writers to the truth of the accusations here levelled against the Cretans; otherwise it would hardly have been so generally and gravely supposed that the Apostle endorsed them. By diligent research a mass of evidence has been gathered to the depraved character of the inhabitants of Crete, and to their repute as liars in particular. But it is to be feared that there is scarcely any nation, ancient or modern, often referred to in literature, which could not be made to appear in a painfully unfavourable light, if a collation were made of all the bitterest censures passed on them by poets and satirists.

On the whole, this passage has seemed to the writer one of serious difficulty, passed over by orthodox interpreters with far too much ease and complacency; and assuredly it has called forth objections on the part of those opposed to the genuineness of the Epistle which are not at all easy to combat. The question may not be one of cardinal importance, nor are the objections referred to of such a character that, supposing them to be well grounded, they

could be set up by themselves against the proofs, clear and sufficient as it seems to us, of the Pauline character and authorship of the Letter. Still the passage, so far as it goes, and taken as it generally is, as a *versé* of some well-known Greek poet of Cretan origin, quoted by St. Paul as a true description of the Cretan national character, is certainly apt to scandalize the thoughtful and sensitive reader; and to scandalize him the more if he understands how constantly in the Apostle's utterances courtesy and prudence go hand-in-hand with moral earnestness and courageous fidelity.

It is, therefore, worth while to consider whether the conventional interpretation is after all sufficiently well grounded; whether some other explanation cannot be furnished more suitable to the context of the passage and the design of the Epistle, and more in harmony with the manner and spirit of St. Paul. Heinrichs and Matthies, amongst the earlier German commentators of this century, started some enquiry of this sort, but do not seem to have followed it up with sufficient thoroughness. It has been resumed by Ludwig Lemme, a recent writer in the *Studien und Kritiken*,¹ to whose pages I must refer for the more detailed critical discussion of the points involved.

(1) It is to be observed, first of all, that this quotation occurs in a context (Verses 10–16) relating immediately and only to *heretics*, not to the Cretans generally, nor to the people of Titus' charge specifically. The Apostle concludes his directions as to the appointing of elders or "bishops" (Verses 5–9) by insisting on orthodoxy as an essential qualification for this office:—"holding," he says, "to the faithful word. . . . that he may be able both to exhort in sound doctrine and to *convict the gainsayers*." He then proceeds to describe these "gainsayers," "unruly men, vain talkers and deceivers (specially they of the circum-

¹ *Studien und Kritiken*, 1882, erstes Heft, Ss. 133–146.

cision), whose mouths must be stopped, . . . teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake." Again he continues, in the 15th Verse: "All things are pure to the pure, but to them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure, but both their mind and conscience is defiled. They profess to know God, but by their works deny him, being abominable and disobedient and to every good work reprobate." It is in the midst of these very distinct descriptions and vehement denunciations of a certain class of men, marked by the same features as those delineated in the two Epistles to Timothy, "wicked men and sorcerers" (*goëtes*, 2 Tim. iii. 13), that the words of the twelfth Verse occur: *One of themselves, a prophet of their own, hath said, Cretans, etc.* Looking at the connexion of the words as they stand and their natural implication in an unprejudiced way, one would at first sight presume that he who coined this remarkable hexameter was one of these 'unruly men' and "vain talkers," who "taught things which they ought not," and "whose mouths must be stopped."

(2) It is a strange and unusual thing, if such be indeed the case, that the Apostle should use the word *prophet*, so sacred and specific in its New Testament application, of a Gentile poet and soothsayer, a heathen *vates*. It is true that the half-mythical Cretan Epimenides has this and other similar epithets assigned to him by classical writers; and it is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Greek Fathers supposed him to be referred to here. But in view of such passages as 1 Corinthians xii. 28, xiv. 1, 22-25; Ephesians iii. 5; Romans i. 2, xvi. 26, to find St. Paul applying the word in a loose popular sense, in which the inspiration of the Jewish prophet and the Greek bard should be covered by the same term, is one of the last things we should have expected. In his sermon at Athens (Acts xvii. 28), he cites with grace and propriety "certain

of your own poets"; and it is hard to see why he should have gone out of his way to dignify an obscure and somewhat fabulous Gentile soothsayer of six hundred years before with the lofty title of a *prophet*. There is no other instance in the New Testament of any similar extension of the use of this or similar words. Nor do the qualifying words, (a prophet) of *their own* (ἰδίας αὐτῶν, *their own especial prophet*), account for this total departure from the sacred and exclusive signification of this most important Biblical word. And it cannot be pleaded that the sentence itself is one that speaks for any great prophetic insight or high inspiration on the part of its author, whoever he may have been.

(3) When we come to examine the testimony of ancient writers as to the origin of the verse, we find it the more doubtful the more closely it is scrutinized. Clement of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Jerome, Epiphanius, Theophylact, ascribe it to *Epimenides the Cretan*, and subsequent writers have in the main repeated their opinion. Theodoret, on the other hand, refers the first part of the verse to Callimachus an Alexandrian poet (*flourished* 260 B.C.), a native of Cyrene, and a poet admired by Horace and Quintilian, in whose Hymn to Zeus we still read :

"The Cretans are always liars ; for indeed, O king, thy tomb
The Cretans built, but thou hadst not died, for thou ever art."

The same reference is given by an unknown Latin commentator on St. Paul's Epistles, whose work has passed under the name of Jerome ; and the latter writer himself says : "There are those who think that this verse is taken from Callimachus, and they are partly right." It is scarcely likely that these writers would have fallen back on so defective and halting a reference as that to Callimachus, if there had been definite and well-established ground for quoting Epimenides. The Pseudo-Ambrose, who often

shews himself well-informed, ignores both Epimenides and Callimachus, and suggests that "some Cretan, improved by the discipline of the Lord, had thus expressed a true judgment on the uninstructed Cretans." The testimony to the authorship of Epimenides may be practically reduced to that of Clement of Alexandria, Chrysostom, and Jerome. Jerome, however, speaks in a manner which shews that he was relying on *hearsay*, and knew nothing positive respecting the work of Epimenides to which he refers: "This verse *is said* to be found in the Oracles of Epimenides, a Cretan poet." Chrysostom, in his comment on the passage, *ascribes to Epimenides the very lines of Callimachus above quoted*, and supposes St. Paul to be referring to them, embarrassing himself not a little in doing so. His evidence is clearly of no critical value. Clement affords us no means of testing the validity of his judgment on the point, but it is given quite incidentally, and in a passage¹ where he is seeking to shew how large was St. Paul's acquaintance with Greek literature, and how many were the points of connexion between the best heathen and Christian thought; and he may easily have caught at and given currency to a popular assumption which fitted in so well with his argument. He is confessedly not distinguished for critical accuracy in details. And it appears that the case for Epimenides rests substantially on his single testimony. On the other hand, we have no clear evidence from any other source as to the existence of any written works or traditional sayings of Epimenides extant in St. Paul's day. No classical writer that we are aware of quotes him. The account given of him by Diogenes Laertius, and repeated in our Classical Dictionaries, shews that he had already passed into the region of the mythical and unhistorical. Add to this, that the grammatical form of the word *ἀπρη* (*idle*) shews that, in its present guise, at any

¹ *The Miscellanies*, chap. xiv.: On the succession of philosophers in Greece.

rate, the verse belongs to the later Greek. (Liddell & Scott; Winer, p. 80).

The real state of the case was probably something like this: From a want of close attention to the context and to the Biblical sense of the word *prophet*, it had been taken for granted that the Apostle was quoting some ancient Cretan poet. The name of Epimenides was the only one that suggested itself in this character, and it was naturally conjectured that the line might be his. This conjecture, once started, speedily grew into a certainty. A later writer, seeing the name suggested by an earlier one, might easily take the hypothesis for an assertion, or at least would imagine it was based on some positive knowledge. There were no works of Epimenides extant to contradict the imputation, and the point was one on which a commentator would be expected to have something to say. At the same time the first three words, *Cretans (are) always liars*, were perhaps sufficiently proverbial to suggest an ancient popular origin for the whole verse; and they had actually been used in the well-known lines of Callimachus. Jerome's careful hesitation shews how little positive ground there was for referring the verse to any known Greek writer; and Chrysostom's inaccuracy in the matter is of such a kind as to throw the gravest doubt on the whole patristic testimony as to the source of the quotation.

(4) Setting aside Epimenides, therefore, as a candidate for the authorship of this verse, and with him the whole assumption that the "prophet" we are in search of must have been a classical poet, let us see what alternative explanation suggests itself.

The Gnostics of Crete claimed a place within the Church, or they could scarcely have been called "unruly" and "disobedient" (Verses 10, 16); it is on their account especially that the "bishops" to be appointed must be "able to exhort in sound doctrine and to convict the gainsayers" (Verse

9); and that Titus himself must "speak the things that become sound doctrine" (Chap. ii. 1). They are of those whose advent St. Paul had already foreseen, men arising from the Church itself, "speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them" (Acts xx. 30); and respecting whom St. John afterwards said, "They went out from us, but they were not of us" (1 John ii. 19). They claimed, in fact, to possess the true Christianity, the true knowledge of God (Verse 16; 1 Tim. vi. 20). The Cretan branch of this movement was, in part, under Jewish leadership (Verse 10), though the parenthetical remark, "specially they of the circumcision," does not at all imply that the party was so distinctively Jewish that the sentence of Verse 12 (directed against *Cretans*) could not be fairly retorted upon its members. What is more likely than that a professedly Christian sect, containing a strong Jewish element, and revolting against orthodox doctrine and Apostolic authority, would have a *prophet of its own*? "Many false prophets," writes St. John, at a time when the heretical movement whose earlier developments are apparent in the Pastoral Epistles had grown to much larger proportions, "are gone out into the world;" again, in addressing "the angel of the Church in Thyatira," the Son of Thunder launches his bolt against "the woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess" (Rev. ii. 20). If there were, as it seems so natural to suppose, amongst the "vain talkers and deceivers" infesting the Church in Crete, one who claimed this character and who was put forward by his party as a "prophet," in the proper Christian sense of the term, we can understand the Apostle's language, and each of the words introducing Verse 12 appears necessary and appropriate; far more so, we think, than if understood to point to the following "Cretans." *One of them said* (i.e. one of the persons just described), *their own prophet*,—who bears this name amongst them and is their special organ of Divine illumination. The word

prophet on this view still remains within the circle of its proper Biblical use, and is applied with a sarcastic force characteristic of St. Paul.¹ The quotation itself enables us to judge of the nature and worth of this pseudo-prophet's inspiration. That he expresses himself in a hexameter is not to be wondered at, if the first part of the line was already popularly current in this form. The rest of the verse may possibly have been an imitation of a somewhat similar line of Hesiod, with which it has been erroneously identified.

And such language as this might very well come from the lips of teachers who made great professions of asceticism, as did the early Gnostics against whom the warnings of the Pastoral Epistles are directed (1 Tim. iv. 3; compare Col. ii. 20-23); and who, for all that, were in many cases men of corrupt minds and immoral life (Verses 15, 16), and accustomed to use violent and abusive language (Verse 10; 1 Tim. vi. 3-5; 2 Tim. iii. 2). The double-edged saying of Verse 15, "All things are pure to the pure," is evidently directed against a spurious moral rigorism, inculcated by men to whom, in reality, "nothing is pure." To such men, we venture to think, the sentence under discussion may most fitly be ascribed, rather than to a venerated Greek poet like Epimenides, or a gracious and noble-minded Apostle of Christ like St. Paul.

(5) But then, in any case, the Apostle endorses the sentence and makes it his own, it may be replied: he says, "This witness is true." We must bear in mind, however, that from Verse 9 onwards, it is the heretical party in Crete that he has in view. On them, and them only, his eye is intently fixed, and to them the eye of his reader is directed from first to last throughout this passage. He has brought heavy charges against them in Verses 10 and 11,

¹ Compare the *overmuch apostles*, 2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11; also 1 Cor. iv. 8, viii. 1.

and then immediately cites their own leading spokesman and professedly inspired representative as *his witness*; and he claims, with entire moral propriety, the violent indictment brought by this "prophet" against his Cretan fellow-countrymen as *a self-accusation, a just description of his own party, and a "true testimony" to what the Apostle has affirmed respecting them.*¹ So the would-be prophet is "judged out of his own mouth," the "engineer" is "hoist with his own petar." We are at once reminded of the Apostle's words in Romans ii. 1, "Wherein thou judgest the other, thou condemnest thyself," and we see that he still retains much of his old dialectic skill and power of retort. That the "testimony" here given is a testimony bearing upon the character of the Cretan heretics seems to be clear from the words that follow: "For which cause reprove *them* sharply, that they may be sound in faith," words applicable to "the gainsayers" of Verses 9-11, and 15, 16, and to no others. The language of Verse 14, especially when compared with 1 Timothy i. 3, 4, iv. 7; 2 Timothy iv. 3, 4, helps to support this more precise reference of the foregoing words to the heretical party with which Titus had to deal in Crete.

This line of interpretation seems at least to be well worth canvassing. If it can be vindicated and well-established, whether in the exact form sketched out in this Paper, or under some other modification, it will enable us to avoid some serious objections to which the traditional exegesis lies open, and will disclose to us, in Verses 10-16 of this Chapter, a more vivid and connected representation of the heretics of Crete than the Epistle otherwise appeared to contain.

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¹ For similarly reflexive use of the word *testimony*, compare 2 Cor. i. 12; Luke xxi. 13; John v. 31, 36, viii. 13, 14.

*DAVID'S TESTIMONY TO THE DIVINE
GOODNESS.*

PSALM xxxiv. 8.

As their gods are, so are men. If they make a god after their own likeness, as they commonly do, he quickly repays the compliment by re-making them in his own image. That to which men look up, which they worship and adore, cannot fail to influence their thoughts, their character, their life, and to influence them most profoundly. And hence no question is so important to us as this: What is God? And of all the questions we ask concerning Him none is so important as, Is He good or bad?

Nor is the answer to this question either easy or certain so long as we are left to infer the character of God from his works. For if the natural world is fair, nevertheless its beauty is marred by many defects; and if the laws by which it is governed are for the most part beneficent, they nevertheless bear so many signs of calm indifference to human welfare, or even of a fierce unrelenting cruelty, that the mere student of Nature, seeing her "red in tooth and claw," is compelled either to question the goodness of God or to admit that, if He be good, He can hardly be omnipotent. And if we turn from Nature to Man, still the answer to our question is but a dubious one. For in Man, as in Nature, we find much that is evil, if also much that is good, and can hardly forbear from asking: If God be good, why did He make us thus—so frail, so fallible, so sinful, and therefore so miserable?

No man who looks thoughtfully around him and within can fail at times to feel, as Plato felt, that he needs some wiser and more certain guidance than his own if he is ever to learn what God really is; that God Himself must speak to him and shew Himself to him if he is to be sure that God is good, friendly, accessible. Nay, more: even if we believe

that God *has* spoken to us and shewn Himself to us, that we have seen Him in Christ Jesus and found Him altogether good, yet at times, when the burden of all this unintelligible and self-contradictory world lies heavily upon us, or when our own life is darkened by some misery to which there seems neither relief nor end, we lose our assurance; we falter where we firmly trod: God seems to shroud Himself in some inaccessible heaven, to retire behind thick clouds we cannot penetrate, to become dubious to us once more, so that we can no longer see or say that He is good.

At such times as this—times only too familiar to all who sincerely aim to be followers and friends of God—it is an unspeakable relief and comfort to hear any voice which assures us, in clear and cordial tones, that God *is* good despite our doubts and fears, that the sun of his love is shining down on the world, though it be hidden from us by the dark clouds that hang about our hearts. And if the voice be that of a man such as we are, yet better and wiser than we are, and wiser and better very mainly because he has passed through many such experiences as that by which we are troubled and has found out what they mean, then surely he can give us not comfort only, but the very succour that we most need.

And this is precisely the comfort and the succour which David offers us in this Psalm. He comes to us in the time of our weakness and unbelief, and affirms it as a fact which he has verified for himself, verified so often and in so many ways as to render doubt impossible, that the Lord is good.

Now almost any man who speaks from deep conviction profoundly influences our thoughts and emotions. As a rule, perhaps, we do not realize as we might and ought the immense part which sincere and intense conviction plays in the world, and in forming the mind and conduct of the world. But, so soon as we consider the point, we know

that if any man speak earnestly to us he impresses us, however set we may be against the conclusion to which he would lead us. He may not be eloquent of tongue, nor profound in thought; his very logic may be halting and imperfect; but if he speak to us with unwavering assurance or with passionate emotion, if in any way he make us feel that he is uttering convictions which are dearer to him than life, we cannot but be moved by his earnestness; and if we still oppose ourselves to his conclusions, the temper of our opposition is gravely modified; while, if we lean toward them, the weight of his conviction is almost sure to turn the balance in their favour. Moral earnestness, intensity of conviction, is a great power for shaping the character and conduct of the world. And if, when we sit in darkness, doubting truth itself to be a liar, any man should come to us, and assure us out of his very heart that God is good, and make us feel that he is quite sure of it, quite sure too that we also shall be sure of it before long, we can hardly fail to be in some measure relieved and comforted.

But if the man were a poet, and a great poet, and a poet the main haunt and region of whose song was the ways of God with men; if, knowing that he had a far keener insight into the mysteries of life than we ourselves, we listened to him with reverence, and with a disposition to believe that what *he* said must be true; if, moreover, he was as much better than we are as wiser, and we looked up to him as one of the noblest and purest spirits that e'er wore flesh about him; if, still further, this poet and saint were much more largely and variously experienced than ourselves in the sorrows and joys of time, and, above all, much more familiar with that very region of doubt and distress through which we were passing; and if, finally, he were not only uttering the conclusion to which his own insight and wisdom had led him and which his own wide and varied experience had confirmed, but was, as we believed, inspired

of God, so that he was giving us God's testimony as well as his own: if we credited him with the genius of the poet, the holiness of a saint, the prophetic wisdom to which old experience doth attain, and the inspiration of the Almighty, could we fail to be deeply impressed by his assurance that the Lord is good, and to be greatly comforted and strengthened by it? Would not the darkness in which we sat flee before his cheerful and victorious presence?

Well, but David was all that I have described, and more. Confessedly he stands in the front rank of those poets who have devoted themselves to the study of the ethical aspects and problems of human life, and was able to interpret the inner world of character and motive and passion with a precision and a delicacy, a truth and power, never surpassed. Confessedly also, despite the grievous transgression he so bitterly rued, he was a man after God's own heart; a man whose goodness was not of the narrow, ascetic, forbidding type which repels men, but of that large, cordial, and manly type which is most winning and attractive. Nor can we well doubt that his experience was wider and more varied than ours, embraced more radical vicissitudes, swept a larger circle, covered more distant extremes. And not only did he run through the whole gamut of human experience, but at the very time he sung this Psalm he was involved in those clouds of undeserved loss, pain, reproach, under which we too often lose our faith in the goodness of God. He was a fugitive from the face of the king he had so loyally served, hiding in the rock-fortress of Adullam, not knowing where to look for daily bread. It would have been pardonable if, under stress of so hard and unmerited a fate, he had brooded over it till the goodness of God had become as dubious to him as it often becomes to us under the lesser strain of trials not to be compared with his. But it is from the very hiding-place of his adversity that he comes forth, with manly and

cheerful courage, to assure us that the Lord is good, and to dwell enjoyingly on the blessedness of the man who trusts in Him. Such a testimony, given by such a man, at such a moment, may well touch and reassure our hearts. What are our powers of insight as compared with his? or what our troubles as compared with his? That, with his powers, he saw no reason to doubt the goodness of the Lord; that, under his burden, he held fast his confidence in God,—this should at least bring some little hope to our hearts when they are heavy and doubtful and sad. And if we believe, as we profess to believe, that David was not only a poet, but an inspired poet, we have in his words a Divine revelation, as well as the result of his own illuminated reason and far-reaching experience. It is *God* who speaks to us, as well as David, and assures us that He is good, and will do us good, however we doubt or distrust Him.

David, then, assumes it as a fact, verified by his own manifold experience, that the Lord is good; and God Himself, through David, assures us that, if we put Him to the test, we shall find Him good.

Is it possible for us, then, when once we are thus comforted and relieved by the testimony of God and man, to rise for ourselves to a clear mental perception of the Divine Goodness, and to a happy personal experience of it, so that we too shall be able in our turn to say: "*We have both seen and tasted the goodness of the Lord; the man is blessed who puts his trust in Him.*"

It should be possible for us, and must be possible, or what meaning, what sense, is there in this invitation to see and taste that Goodness for ourselves?

Doubtless, as I have already admitted, there are phenomena both in the physical and in the human world which it is very difficult for us, with our limited powers, to reconcile with the goodness of Him who rules all worlds. In the world of Nature, for example, we see that weakness

is constantly punished as if it were guilt, so constantly that Science has formulated a law—"the survival of the fittest"—which implies the inevitable destruction of the weak and simple by the strong and crafty; we see many and large orders of creatures which can only live by cunning or violence; we find that the beneficence and beauty of Nature are balanced by a calm indifference to human want and misery, or even by a determined and apparently cruel hostility to human life and welfare. The floods rise, the tempests rage, pestilence spreads and flies, heedless and ruthless of the homes they desolate, the harvests they destroy, the hearts they embitter. The sun burns, the cold bites, the rains fall, and He who holds the seasons in his hand seems to go on his way indifferent to the defeat of the husbandman's hopes, and of the famine which decimates an entire race. And in Man, as in Nature, evil is rife. There are the inevitable collisions of interest which breed strife; there is the eternal want of bread which makes millions the mere slaves of toil, and leaves them neither energy nor leisure to cultivate intellect or heart; there are the animal and selfish and social lusts which war against the soul, against the peace and honour of families and nations, against the dignity of human life. It is only too easy to frame an indictment, whether against Nature or Man, the counts of which cannot be denied, and which run up and glance against the Lord of men and the Maker of the universe. But before we urge these charges against Him, should we not at least hear what He Himself has to say? And if we do listen, can we anywhere find, or anyhow invent, a heavier indictment than He Himself has launched against both Nature and Man? However black our mood, we can say nothing of the depravity of man to surpass the lurid description of human lusts and sins contained in his Word. And whatever defects we may find in Nature, we can hardly allege more against it than

this, that the whole creation is subjected to futility and corruption. So that the God who comes to us and asks us to believe that He is good is not ignorant of the facts which lead us to doubt his goodness ; nor does He blink or palliate them, or seek to push them into the background of our thoughts. He tells us frankly that in much Nature is hostile to Man, and insubservient to his welfare. He frankly charges our common humanity with defects, with evil proclivities and passions, such as we ourselves have discovered and lament in it. But, despite all this, He still claims to be of a perfect and sovereign goodness, and asks us to see and to share that goodness.

Now such plain dealing should surely prompt us to inquire whether, if there be some facts within our view which lead us to doubt God, there may not be other facts known to Him and which He can make known to us, that would dissipate our doubts, and enable us to say, with clear and deep conviction, that He is good—better, far better even, than we had ever ventured to hope. And when we bring this inquiry to Him, and ask *Him* to tell us the meaning of the defects in Nature and of the miseries of Man, He is not slow to answer. He assures us that He made man king of the world, and put all things under his feet ; that when man, by sin, fell under the tyranny of vanity and corruption, the whole subject-world was brought into the same miserable bondage, following the fortunes of its Head, and sharing his doom. He tells us that if men will but look to Him in faith and love, He will redeem them from their bondage ; and that, when they are redeemed, the whole creation, still following the fortunes and sharing the fate of its king, will also be redeemed into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

To those who do not accept the revelation of the mind and purpose of God contained in Holy Writ, all this can only seem a dubious and unverifiable hypothesis ; but even

they must admit that it is at least an hypothesis consistent with itself, and that it squares with and explains the very facts in Nature and Human Nature of which they find it most difficult to give any reasonable account. They must admit that, if this *were* the purpose of God, it would be a purpose worthy of his eternal wisdom and grace; and that it would inspire men with a hope in the strength of which they might well encounter all the miseries whether of life or of death.

But *we* accept that revelation. We look to the Bible for the clearest and fullest disclosures of the will of God. The point, therefore, which *we* have to mark is the method in which God meets and overcomes our misgivings, and enables us once more to taste and see that He is good. These misgivings arise within us when, in our efforts to relieve the misery of others, or by the pressure of some special misery of our own, we are moved to brood, somewhat too exclusively, on the darker facts of our experience, and are thus led, by a partial induction, to form an imperfect conception of the character of God. And the method in which He meets our doubts is this: He leads us to consider facts which we had omitted from our view; He compels us to an induction of a wider sweep, an induction which includes the past history of man and his future prospects, as well as his present miseries; an induction that includes the sins from which these miseries sprang, and the gracious corrective purpose they are intended to subserve, and the glorious compensations to which they will conduct us if we bear them with courage and constancy and cheerfulness. When we are weakly or wilfully pondering on the little we can see in a few moments of our brief span, and therefore fret at the indifference or hostility of Nature and the depravity and misery of Man, He bids us embrace in our view the whole field of nature and the whole world of men through

the entire space which stretches from "the beginning" of the creation to "the end." Nay, He bids us look at this long eventful history through his own eyes, and as from his own heart, in order that we may recognize the righteous and loving purpose with which He is conducting it to its goal, and learn that the dark age of the tyranny of evil is but an episode in the great story of Humanity; that as man came from the light at first, so at last he will return to it, and return the stronger and the richer for his conflict with the powers of darkness.

This, at least, is one way, and surely a very noble and effectual way, in which God seeks to comfort and reassure our hearts, and to confirm our faith in Him. But, to help our weak faith still further, He has also gathered up all these facts and truths, which are being slowly wrought out and made manifest through the long ages of time, and has compressed them within the compass of a single life, the life of Jesus Christ his Son; so that we need not study either the whole contents of the Bible or the long story of Humanity before we can taste and see that He is good. There is a simpler shorter way to our mark. The great problem which covers the whole extent of time has been reduced into a single demonstration which even a child may master.

For that which disturbs our trust in the goodness of God, so that at times it is all clouded with a doubt, is, as we have seen, our experience of the indifference or hostility of Nature, or of the vileness and misery of Man. In much we admit that Nature is friendly to us and bountiful; but in much also she seems careless of us or even adverse to our well-being. In much we admit that Man is noble and admirable, and that he is most fitly and happily conditioned; but in much also he is weak and wicked, and his conditions are unfavourable to his development and peace. And as we brood over these darker facts, we are

too apt to omit from our view the facts which are bright and full of promise; we forget that the night has its uses as well as the day. But even in our most dubious and despondent moods, what room is left for doubt if only we raise our eyes and consider Christ, and the purpose of God concerning us as revealed in Him? He *was* what God meant man to be. He *is* what God will yet make man to be. Was there ought that was evil in *Him*? Was not He of a complete and perfect goodness? Was the natural world hostile or insubordinate to Him? Did it not, even when raging with tempest, obey his lightest word and delight to do his will? Did He not, after He had passed through the purifying ministry of death, rise into an absolute lordship over the laws and processes of Nature, and ascend into a world of absolute purity and peace and joy?

But in Him, as in a glass which gathers into itself the whole course of time, the whole story of man, and lights it up with the benign splendour of the secret purpose of God—in *Him* we see what God is making *us*, and what his end for us is. His will is that we should become perfect even as Christ was perfect, and that we too should rise and sit in the heavenly places, untouched by vanity and corruption. When, therefore, we are depressed by the doubts and fears which are natural to us in the imperfect conditions amid which we reach forth to perfection, we have only to recall the gracious and redeeming purpose of God written out large in the inspired Word, or to look to Christ in whom that purpose became incarnate, in order once more to taste and see that the Lord is good, and to share the blessedness of the man who trusts in Him.

S. Cox.

THE SOURCES OF ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.

VI. THE PREACHING OF ST. STEPHEN.

FOR a brief period of his life St. Paul must have been thrown into close contact with the first martyr of the Christian Church, not as a friend but as an opponent. That he was present at his martyrdom is asserted twice over in the Acts of the Apostles. "The witnesses laid down their garments at the feet of a young man named Saul. And they stoned Stephen. . . . And Saul was consenting (*συνευδοκῶν*) to his death" (Chap. vii. 58, 60) : and "When the blood of Stephen thy witness was shed I also was standing by, and consenting (*συνευδοκῶν*), and keeping the garments of them that slew him" (Chap. xxii. 20). From the expression *συνευδοκῶν* thus found in both accounts, together with the Apostle's words in Acts xxvi. 10, "When they were put to death I gave my vote against them," it is generally inferred that St. Paul was actually a member of the Sanhedrin, and that he was therefore present not merely at the martyrdom but also at the trial of St. Stephen, and recorded his vote against him, if indeed it is correct to speak of formal voting on that tumultuous occasion.

But even before the trial the two men must have met face to face, for if we consider the prominent position taken in this early persecution of the Christian Church by him who was afterwards the Apostle Paul, we shall feel that it is impossible to exclude him from among the number of "them of Cilicia" who "arose disputing with Stephen" (Acts vi. 9). The share which he took in the persecution is fully marked by the historian in Acts viii. 3 : "As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house and haling men and women committed them to prison ;" and in ix. 1, "Saul yet breathing out slaughter and threatening against the disciples," etc. It is alluded to by the

Apostle himself in no measured terms on more than one occasion (see Acts xxii. 4-6, 19, 20, xxvi. 9-11; 1 Corinthians xv. 9; Galatians i. 13, 14); and it would be strange indeed if he, who was thus "exceedingly mad," who "persecuted this way even unto the death," who went out of his way to "*ask*" a commission to Damascus, had not been the leading spirit and the spokesman in that disputation, when Stephen, perhaps for the first time, unfolded before the enraged Jews all that was wrapped up in the letter of the Old Testament, and taught them the full truths of the Gospel. It is impossible that the memory of this strange episode can have wholly passed away. It could not be put out of sight, like a bad dream: and the allusions made to it in after life by the Apostle himself stand as evidence that it was never forgotten. Did it, then, have no effect upon his teaching? Or was it not rather one of the chief instruments which God used in bringing to his feet him who was to "labour more abundantly" than all the rest of the Apostles? The words of our Lord spoken from heaven, when Saul of Tarsus lay prostrate on the road to Damascus, certainly seem to imply that there had already been a severe struggle against conviction. "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad" *must* signify that he was resisting and fighting against a truth which he was within but a little of seeing to be a truth. He had been worsted in argument as he disputed with Stephen, "unable to withstand the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake." As the witnesses laid their clothes at his feet, did his conscience prick him at the thought that he himself had "suborned" them (cf. vi. 11)? We cannot tell. But it has so often been seen that rage is "intensified by the unconscious rise of an irresistible conviction" that we have no hesitation in thinking that it was so in his case; and in believing that it was the dread of being persuaded, should he only calmly face the question at issue, which forced

him on into fresh bursts of fury against the Christians, and drove him forth on that journey to Damascus. And when he had yielded, and had given himself up heart and soul to the cause which he had once persecuted, there is so much of his teaching which is peculiar to him among the Apostles, and which yet reminds us of St. Stephen, that I cannot but feel that this series of papers would be incomplete without having a few pages devoted to the influence of the first martyr as one of the sources of St. Paul's teaching.

The substance of St. Stephen's preaching is nowhere related to us in the Acts. But it is easy to discover its main features from the accusation brought against him in Chapter vi. 13, as well as from the character of his apologetic speech in Chapter vii. It can hardly be accident that the charges brought against him and the Apostle Paul, with an interval of more than twenty years between them, should be precisely alike. Against St. Stephen they said, "This man ceaseth not to speak words against *this holy place, and the law.*" So, when the Jews from Asia laid hands upon the Apostle in the Temple, they cried out, "Men of Israel, help; this is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people, and *the law, and this place*" (Chap. xxi. 28). In each case the accusation was false, and yet founded upon a truth. The preaching of the Twelve, as shewn by St. Peter's speeches in the early Chapters of the Acts, consisted mainly of the announcement that Jesus was the Messiah. Others were looking for a Messiah still to come. According to the Twelve the Messiah *had* come. "He had suffered as was written of Him; He was to come again, as was written of Him also, to restore the kingdom to Israel, and Himself to reign over it. In the meanwhile Israelites were to repent of their sins and to love one another. This," it has been well said, "was all that the followers of Christ had as yet openly preached, and it was rather a purification than a

contradiction of the popular doctrine.”¹ It was true, but it was not the whole truth. The relation of the Old Covenant to the New, the position of the Law with regard to the Gospel, and the place to be taken by the Temple in the new economy, these were questions which pressed for solution, and to which no answers had hitherto been pointed out. And in the background, dim and undefined as yet, lay the great difficulty, destined to cause so much trouble to St. Paul hereafter, the difficulty of the relation of Jew and Gentile, and the exact position to be assigned to the latter. There is nothing to lead us to suppose that this last subject was definitely treated of by St. Stephen, but those other questions of the relation of the Law to the Gospel were resolutely faced by him. It was his attitude taken towards them, and the novelty of his teaching on these subjects, which drew upon him the hostility of the synagogue; and he stands before us as “the first who plainly set forth the transitory nature of the law and Temple as compared with the later and better covenant, thus being, in a remarkable manner the forerunner of St. Paul.”²

In view, then, of the fact that such doctrine formed a new point of departure in the history of the Church, we need not shrink from tracing its re-appearance in St. Paul's writings back to the teaching of St. Stephen as its original source. The seed soon sprang up, and the result is seen in the great argument of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, wherein is laid down with such wonderful power the position of the law, as a “schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ” (Gal. iii. 24), and as that from which the man who is in Christ is delivered, “in that he has died to that wherein he was held” (Rom. vii. 6). In this connexion there is no need to point to special passages as the outcome of St. Stephen's influence. It is rather *a whole line of*

¹ Simcox, “The Beginnings of the Christian Church,” p. 20.
Dean Alford.

teaching, which appears to be due, in the first instance, to his exposition of the Gospel truth. Since we have no full report of his teaching, it is obvious that much must be matter of conjecture. Yet we know that the attitude taken up by the two men with regard to the legal system was regarded by their opponents as one and the same; and therefore we cannot be far wrong in the assertion that their teaching on this subject was really identical. Further, an historical connexion of some sort between the two teachers is a fact which there is no gainsaying; and, as the priority in time belongs to St. Stephen, it is making no large demands on our credulity if we are asked to believe that in this sense he was the master of St. Paul, and suggested germs of thought which in after years were to bear such rich fruits.

But there is one speech of St. Stephen of which a tolerably full report has reached us; and it is one at the delivery of which (as we have already seen) there is reason to believe that St. Paul was present. It remains, then, to compare this with the Apostle's speeches and writings. And the result of the comparison, it is believed, will be to shew that this speech sank deep into the heart of St. Paul, and that "even the very words and phrases of Stephen, to which he had listened so earnestly, appear to have been written upon his memory in letters of flame, so that he was haunted by them, involuntarily, to the last day of his life."¹

(1) The thirteenth Chapter of the Acts contains the account of St. Paul's first sermon on his earliest missionary journey, viz. that delivered in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia. It consists, in the main, of a concise retrospect of the national history of the Jews. It is evident that a speech of this character would be likely to win their attention, and gain for the speaker a patient hearing; and there-

¹ Lewin's "St. Paul," vol. i. p. 40.

fore too much stress must not be laid on the fact that just the same method of proceeding had been previously adopted by St. Stephen. The coincidence, however, is one which deserves notice, especially as such an historical summary is not found in any of St. Peter's speeches, in which it might have been expected, if this form had been one commonly used among the Jews, or if the speeches in the Acts were merely literary compositions due to the author of the book, and by him "put into the mouths" of the several speakers.

(2) Acts xxii. 1 as compared with vii. 2 contains a slight coincidence, in that St. Paul, in speaking at Jerusalem, before an audience somewhat similar to that which St. Stephen had addressed, claims a hearing in an introductory formula which is identical with that occurring in St. Stephen's speech. *ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἀκούσατε*, being the opening words in each case.

(3) Turning from the form and character to the matter of the speech, we next notice that St. Stephen lays a marked stress on the faith of Abraham, and that he dwells on God's dealings with him *before* the institution of the covenant of circumcision. A revelation to him in Mesopotamia is first mentioned, even "before he dwelt in Haran." Then his hearers are reminded that it was God who removed him from thence into the holy land, and who "promised that he would give it to him in possession, and to his seed after him, when as yet he had no child." Not till after all this are we told that "he gave him the covenant of circumcision." It is in close accordance with this that St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, insists on the fact that Abraham's faith was reckoned unto him for righteousness when he was "not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision" (see the whole passage, Romans iv. 9-22, and compare Galatians iii. 7); so that his teaching on this subject is but the legitimate development of that of the protomartyr.

(4) We now come to instances of *verbal* agreement, which

are more solid than that alluded to above (No. 2). "The law," we are told by St. Paul in Galatians iii. 19, "was *ordained through angels* (διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων) by the hand of a mediator." The angels who assisted at the giving of the law are mentioned by Josephus and Philo, and are said to hold an important place in the later rabbinical speculations. The mediator also is a common title given to Moses in Jewish works.¹ But by far the closest parallels in any writing to the words of St. Paul are to be found in the speech of St. Stephen as reported by St. Luke. Acts vii. 53, "Ye who received the law as it was *ordained by angels* (εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων), and kept it not," and compare verse 38, where it is said of Moses that "this is he that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sinai, and with our fathers: who received living oracles to give unto us." Thus in both points, (a) the part taken by angels, and (b) the position of Moses as a mediator, the Apostle is anticipated by the Deacon.

(5) Acts vii. 48 contains the following passage: "The Most High dwelleth not in houses made with hands (οὐχ ὁ ὑψίστος ἐν χειροποιήτοις κατοικεῖ); as saith the prophet, The heaven is my throne, and the earth the footstool of my feet: what manner of house will ye build me? saith the Lord: Or what is the place of my rest? Did not my hand make all these things?" Who can fail to recognise the fact that to these words is due the form given to St. Paul's teaching at Athens? the *matter*, as was shewn in a previous paper, had been in part suggested by the tenets of his Stoic audience. Acts xvii. 24, "The God that made the world and all things therein, he, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands" (οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ). St. Stephen in addressing the Jews had cited in full a passage from the prophet Isaiah. This the Apostle, who has a Gentile audience before him,

¹ See Bishop Lightfoot on Galatians, p. 144.

avoids doing. But he has embodied in his speech the substance of it, and has thus preserved its main ideas, viz. (a) that God is Lord both of heaven and earth; (b) that He made all things; and, as a consequence from these, (c) that He dwelleth not in temples made with hands. The words on this last head, it will be noticed, are borrowed with scarcely an alteration from the speech of St. Stephen.

(6) Only a few verses lower down in the seventh Chapter of the Acts, stands that sudden outburst of glowing indignation with which St. Stephen turns upon his persecutors: "Ye stiff-necked, and *uncircumcised in heart and ears* (*ἀπερίτμητοι καρδίαις καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν*), ye do always resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did, so do ye." The words italicized remind us of Jeremiah vi. 10, ix. 26. But there is nothing like them elsewhere in the New Testament, except in two passages of St. Paul's Epistles, where the same idea is reproduced. Romans ii. 29, "Circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter;" and Colossians ii. 11, where St. Paul's converts are reminded that they were "circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ." The thought thus reappearing in the Apostle's writings affords a further instance of a perhaps unconscious reminiscence of St. Stephen's language.

(7) Lastly, it has often been noticed that just as the dying Stephen interceded for his murderers (Acts vii. 60), so St. Paul, in his latest Epistle prayed on behalf of those who forsook him and failed to take his part at his "first defence" (2 Tim. iv. 16). In the Authorized Version the similarity between the two prayers is made to appear more marked than is warranted by the original, and the renderings, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," and "I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge," serve to convey to the English reader the mistaken notion that the same phrase is used in each place. This impression may

be removed by a reference to the Revised Version which renders St. Paul's words with greater exactness, "May it not be laid to their account" (*μὴ αὐτοῖς λογισθεῖν*). There remains, then, no verbal coincidence here, but simply the fact that both saints did pray in their last hours for those who were persecuting or deserting them. Since, however, they had the example of their Divine Master before them, and (as I have endeavoured to shew in an earlier paper) the closing chapter of St. Paul's latest Epistle contains a striking coincidence with another of our Lord's words from the cross, I cannot pretend to think it certain or even probable that in this case St. Paul was influenced by a recollection of St. Stephen's dying prayer. But as I find the passage generally noted in commentaries as a coincidence, it seemed best to mention it here, leaving the reader to estimate its value for himself.

Seven possible allusions have now been examined, and after making all necessary allowance for the weakness of some of them, I think that sufficient will remain to justify the assertion of Mr. Lewin quoted above, and to convince us that the day on which St. Stephen appeared before the Council was one which St. Paul could never forget. And if the words which he then heard were thus stamped upon his memory, it is not without reason that it has been conjectured that "we owe the preservation of the speech, as we have it in this (seventh) chapter, to St. Paul. For among the hostile audience of the martyr, who besides would be likely to treasure it up or to communicate it to the Evangelist?"¹

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

¹ Humphrey on the Acts.

DOUBLE PICTURES IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND APOCALYPSE.

CONCLUDING PAPER.

WE have considered in two previous papers what have been spoken of as Double Pictures in the Fourth Gospel; and we have now to see whether any illustrations of the same method of Structure are to be found in the Apocalypse. We are met, indeed, in turning to this part of our subject, by the difficulty that the interpretations of certain passages of the Apocalypse upon which we shall proceed, are not by any means accepted by all commentators. Our first duty, therefore, must be to vindicate, from considerations quite independent of the structural principle before us, the interpretations we adopt. We cannot first deduce the interpretations from the supposed structure, and then infer the structure from the interpretations. This much, however, will be conceded, that the more we succeed in establishing the structure the greater will be the degree of probability added to the interpretations upon which it rests. Acts establish character, but character comes in afterwards to aid us in the interpretation of acts, even of the very acts from which we at first deduced it.

The first passage which naturally suggests itself upon the point before us is the description given by the Apocalyptic Seer of the Seven Churches of Asia or, in other words, of the one universal Church of Christ. The description is contained in Revelation i. 12-20, where we are first told that St. John "saw seven golden candlesticks" (verse 12), afterwards explained to be "seven churches" (verse 20); and next that, in the right hand of the glorious Person described in the vision, there were "seven stars" (verse 16), of which it is again said at a later point in the Chapter, "The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches" (verse 20). The chief question arising here is the meaning of the word "angels." On this question we have already spoken in

an earlier number of the *Expositor*,¹ and it would be out of place to repeat the arguments there adduced against several of those meanings which have been adopted by different enquirers, and in favour of what seems to be the only tenable one. The word "angel" is of constant occurrence in the Apocalypse, and on every sound principle of interpretation it must be understood wherever it is possible to do so in the same way. This is more especially the case with a word the use of which by the writer is so peculiar to himself. Where else but in this book do we read of an "angel" of the winds, of the abyss, of fire, or of the waters (Chaps. vii. 1, ix. 11, xiv. 18, xvi. 5)? while even the Son Himself is said, in the very opening of the book, to signify the revelation "by his angel" unto his servant John (Chap. i. 1). A careful comparison of the many passages in which the word occurs can hardly leave a doubt upon the mind that the "angel" of any person or thing is a form of expression used to denote the passing of that which it represents from a condition of rest into one of activity. Everything in the universe has a mode of action, a voice. When it acts or speaks it does so by its "messenger" or "angel"; and thus its angel comes to be a representative of the thing itself, as it turns from inward contemplation or repose to the exercise of influence upon others. But "the seven stars are the angels of the seven churches" (verse 20); that is, they are the seven churches viewed in a state of activity rather than of rest. In the passage we are considering it will thus be seen that we have two figures for the Church of Christ. She is "seven golden candlesticks": she is "seven stars"; and, seven being but another mode of expressing unity, upon the force of which it is unnecessary to dwell, we are further entitled to say that she is a "golden candlestick," that she is a "star." We have a double picture of the Church.

¹ Vol. viii. (First Series) p. 205.

Nor is it difficult to see wherein the climax of this double picture lies. As a "golden candlestick" the Church is set in the sanctuary of God; she burns before the throne of the Divine Majesty; the eye of the world cannot penetrate into the secret of her tabernacle. There by day, and in all probability also by night, she sends forth her rays, yet less for the purpose of illuminating objects around her than for that of bringing out the glory of her own stem, towards which the wicks of all her lamps are trimmed, and which had been wrought into its perfect beauty in order to typify Him on whom the Church depends. The Church has entered into her chamber, and shut the door, that in communion with her Lord alone she may gain continual accessions of nourishment and strength. It is the Church in herself then, in her inner life, in her quiet and unmarked fellowship with God, that we behold when we see her as a "golden candlestick." All is changed when we see her as a "star." She is not now in a quiet chamber, but is set in the very front of the firmament of heaven, when the sun has gone down below the one horizon, and we are waiting for him to rise above the other horizon of our view. She is shining there where her light is diffused far and wide, and where "they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever" (Dan. xii. 3). The world sees her now; the weary traveller is cheered by her; the mariner far out of sight of land finds in her a guide upon his trackless waste of waters; she shines not for God only but for men. The climax cannot be mistaken. The two figures also come before us in their proper order, whether of nature or of grace. Historically the Church was a "candlestick" before she was a "star," and never in any age can she be the latter until she has been the former. Finally, it may be remarked, for we shall have occasion to notice something of the same kind again, that the climax

traceable in the two figures consists in passing from something Jewish to something wider and more universal. The "golden candlestick" was peculiarly Jewish. The "star" is confined to no single nation; it shines upon Jew and Gentile alike, and it is equally precious to both.

From this double figure of the Church let us turn to a double representation of a heresy within the Church. The passage will be found in Chapter ii. 14, 15, in the Epistle to the Church at Pergamos: "But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there some that hold the teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication. So hast thou also some that hold the teaching of the Nicolaitans in like manner." Have we two lines of erroneous teaching here, or only one? At first sight it might seem as if there were two,—“some that hold the teaching of Balaam,” and “some that hold the teaching of the Nicolaitans.” This view has been accordingly taken by eminent commentators such as Professor Plumptre, who holds that two sects are brought under our notice which started from entirely different points, although they came practically to the same conclusion (*The Expositor*, First Series, Vol. II., pp. 186, 433). By far the larger number of commentators, however, adopt the idea that only one sect is spoken of, and various considerations may be mentioned which seem to confirm their conclusion. (1) Of the Nicolaitans as a separate sect nothing is known. Some of the early Fathers derived the name from Nicolaus, one of the seven deacons mentioned in Acts vi. 5, and imagined that those here alluded to had sprung from him. Others denied this origin of the name; but both parties had obviously no information either of the history or of the tenets of such a sect, except what they found in the passage before us. That the sect, if it existed, had Nicolaus for its founder is indeed in the highest

degree improbable; the testimony of antiquity is against the supposition (*Smith's Dict. of the Bible*—NICOLAS); and we may safely regard it as a mere conjecture. Nor is any other Nicolaus known from whom the Nicolaitans could have had their origin. (2) The description given in Chapter ii. 20 of certain false teaching at Thyatira leaves it indubitable that it did not differ from that mentioned here: "She teacheth and seduceth my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols." But that teaching is connected with "Jezebel," a name almost universally recognized as one used by the Seer in a mystical sense, although with the thought of the impious wife of Ahab also in his view. There is no improbability in thinking that the word "Nicolaitans," whether it had a historical foundation or not, is also used mystically. (3) The position and connexion of the word "also" in verse 15 is to be noted, for it is closely connected with "thou," not with "hast." We are not to read "So thou hast also," etc., but "So thou also hast," etc., or, "So hast thou also," etc. No second class of false teachers is about to be spoken of, but a class precisely resembling those who troubled the Church of God in the days of Balaam. (4) The addition of the words "in like manner" at the close of verse 15 strengthens this conclusion. The words shew that the second class of false teachers is really identical with the first.

But if this be so the question naturally arises, Whence came the word "Nicolaitans?" a question to which the ready answer has long been given that "Nicolaus" is a Greek translation of "Balaam," a translation given after the manner of the writer of this book, who in Chapter ix. 11 translates "Abaddon" by "Apollyon," the Hebrew by the Greek. Of the derivation thus assigned to "Balaam" it is unnecessary to speak. It is familiar to all who will take any interest in the contents of this paper; and it may only be well to observe that there is no force in the objection

sometimes urged against the view here adopted,—that the proposed derivation is not etymologically correct. Even were this true, although it is not to be forgotten that that derivation has been defended by eminent names, the argument would not be affected. The popular instinct, so strong amongst the Jews, which took delight in noting similarities of sound, would certainly not concern itself about scientific etymology, any more than it does so among other peoples, and where other tongues are used. Similarity of sound would be enough, and the name **בָּלַעַם**, whether derived from **בָּלַעַ** and **עַם** or from **בָּלַעַ** with **ם** suffixed, would equally suggest to the Jewish ear the meaning “destroyer of the people.” Nor, again, is there any reason to be perplexed by the use in the compound Greek word of a verb signifying to conquer rather than to destroy. Evil is always in the Apocalypse, if we must not at present say in the writings of St. John, the counterpart of good. Christ is constantly the “overcomer,” the “conqueror,” and his enemies are the would-be overcomers, the would-be conquerors of his people. We are thus led to the conclusion that the “Nicolaitans” spoken of in Chapter ii. 15 are no sect distinct from the followers of Balaam mentioned in verse 14, but are designated by this mystical name because they imitated the example and the errors of the false prophet.

Still further, however, it must be noticed that the climax which we have always found in the second description or designation of anything, when compared with the manner in which it is first introduced to us, is also to be found here. We see it partly in the circumstance that the first name is Hebrew, the second Greek. Considered in itself, indeed, this circumstance might well be regarded as of trifling import. But when we have already seen a similar climax in the golden candlestick and the star, and when we shall meet it again in a fresh illustration of the general principle

to which we shall immediately turn, it can hardly be passed over as unworthy of notice. What is Hebrew is far more limited in its range than what is Greek. In addition to this the climax is also traceable in the associations which, by the time we reach Chapter ii. 15, have become connected with the name "Nicolaitans." Every student of the Apocalypse will allow that nothing is more characteristic of the book than a tendency to scatter throughout its pages different notices of anything of which it speaks. Ample illustration of this point has been given by Archbishop Trench in his work on the Epistles to the Seven Churches. The fact is clear, that the imperfect description of any object given us at one point is intended to be filled out by the larger, or simply additional, description given of it at another. When we meet the object a second time, we are to remember what we have read of it before; when we meet it a first time, we are to wait for the further information regarding it that may yet be afforded. Now the Nicolaitans are not mentioned for the first time in Chapter ii. 15. They have been already spoken of in verse 6 of the same Chapter, where it is said to the church in Ephesus, "But this thou hast, that thou hatest the works of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate." These last words, then, we are to carry forward along with us; we are to add them in thought to the mention made a second time of the same teaching in verse 15; and in that mention we have a distinct element of climax. The conditions of a double picture are thus fulfilled in the passage before us.

Once more, we turn for another and still more important illustration of the point with which we deal, to the two visions of Chapter vii., the first extending from verse 2 to verse 8, and describing the sealing of the 144,000, the second extending from verse 9 to verse 17, and containing the description of the great multitude standing before the throne of God and of the Lamb. It is well known that

many, perhaps most, commentators regard these as two different companies, and that the negative school of criticism has gone further, looking upon the method of their juxtaposition as a conclusive proof of the narrow Judaic spirit of the Apocalypse. Baur has even asserted that those spoken of in the second vision are to be regarded as, properly speaking, only "an appendix to the 144,000 sealed out of all the tribes of Israel" (*Die Kanon. Evang.*, p. 348). The point is one of the utmost importance in its bearing on questions connected with the authorship, the date, and the meaning of the Apocalypse. If Baur's representation be correct, it will be very hard to believe that that book and the fourth Gospel issued from the same pen. It will be almost impossible to believe that the Apocalypse belongs to the later years of St. John's life. Our contention is that the two visions relate to the same company, and that this company includes the whole Church of God, both Jew and Gentile, from every age. It is not denied that first appearances are against this view; but it is urged that the peculiar mode of presentation employed by the Seer is occasioned by that love of his for double pictures which has already been in part illustrated. We turn, then, to the first vision with the view of asking whether it contains any signs of including others than members of the Judæo-Christian Church.

(1) The very name "Israel" indicates that more than Jews by birth are in the writer's mind. The word occurs in two other passages of his book, Chapters ii. 14 and xxi. 12. In the first it must be referred to the Jewish Church alone, because the time alluded to is that of Balaam: and all that can be said further is that there these "children" or rather "sons" of Israel are evidently thought of as the type and emblem of that Church of God which was to be established in the days of Christ, and which in Pergamos unquestionably included Gentile as

well as Jewish believers. In the second passage mentioned the word occurs in connexion with the New Jerusalem. The names written on the twelve gates of that city are those of "the twelve tribes of the children of Israel." It is hardly possible to doubt that these twelve tribes represent the whole people of God. Surely by the time that the New Jerusalem descends upon the earth, and when all the enemies of God's people have been cast into the lake of fire, the distinction between Jew and Gentile has been completely abolished. The city is inhabited not only by members of God's ancient people, but by all the followers of the Lamb. "*The nations* shall walk amidst the light thereof, and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it"; "they shall bring the honour and glory of *the nations* into it"; those who enter into it are "they which are written in the Lamb's book of life" (verses 24, 26, 27). They enter in by the gates; they have a right to enter; perhaps the names written upon the gates are a token to them of the privilege which they possess; in these names they behold their own. Confirmation of this is found in the fact that on the twelve courses of the foundation stones upon which the city rests are the "twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb" (verse 14), of the twelve to whom every believer even of the earliest times knew it had been said, "Ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in Judæa and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth" (Acts i. 8; comp. Matt. xxviii. 19). The names of the Apostles indicated universality, and not less did the names upon the gates. This sense of the word, too, is conformable to that in which we find it constantly employed both in the Old and the New Testament. In the former it is the designation of the theocratic people in their relation to God, as his Church. In the latter it is not once used except in a spiritual sense, 1 Corinthians x. 18 being no exception to this rule, for there the Apostle distinctly ex-

plains himself by the words which he subjoins, "Behold Israel *after the flesh*." No Judæo-Christian community, no church composed simply of converts from among the Jews, ever constitutes Israel in a New Testament sense. The one Church of God in which there is neither Jew nor Greek is the only Israel which either our Lord (Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30) or his Apostles know. If, therefore, we are to interpret the word "Israel" in the passage before us as applying to a Jewish Church alone, we shall be interpreting it in a sense to which, notwithstanding the frequency with which it is used, no parallel can be found. Nor does the prefix "every *tribe*" make the slightest difference. Let our readers look at Chapter i. 7, and they will find there an expression which will at once put them in possession of the Apocalyptic writer's thought upon this point—"And all the tribes of the earth shall mourn." Why the *tribes* of the earth? Because the writer sees all men divided into two classes in direct contrast with one another. The one is "the tribes of the earth," the godless of every nation; the other is "the tribes of the sons of Israel," the godly, the believing, whether of Jewish or of Gentile birth.

(2) The number spoken of, 144,000, points to the same conclusion. There can be no doubt as to the manner in which this number is obtained. It is 12×12 , and then raised to thousands. But the number 12 is throughout the Apocalypse not the number of Old Testament Israel, of the Jewish Church; it is rather the number of the Church of God in its widest sense. Once indeed it belonged to the Jewish Church,—at the time when, although the Good Shepherd had other sheep that were "not of this fold," these had not yet been brought into the one flock under the one Shepherd (John x. 16). But no sooner was the one flock formed, no sooner was the voice of the one Shepherd heard by all, than the number which had been the mark of the ancient Church became that

of those who were not so much a new Church, as the old Church upon a wider basis and with more enlarged privileges. According to the uniform conception of Scripture the whole Church of God, without distinction of nationality, is the "seed of Abraham," and if therefore the number 12 denoted the latter it must denote the former. The use of "thousands" leads to the same conclusion, for it will be found that in the Apocalypse that number is always associated with the idea of what is perfect in the kingdom of God. When, therefore, we find the number 12 first squared, and then perfected by the addition of thousands, we have a very clear intimation that the Seer is thinking of the redeemed in all the completeness of their company. The Apocalypse itself, however, affords further and positive proof that the 144,000 include more than the numbers of the Jewish Church, or rather of the Christian Church gathered from among the Jews. We meet them again in Chapter xiv. 1, where the Seer beholds "the Lamb standing on Mount Zion and with him a hundred and forty and four thousand." It would paralyse all exegesis if this be not the same 144,000 of which we read in Chapter vii.; but, if so, how are they described? In verse 3 it is said of them that they are "they that had been purchased out of the earth," words which do not mean simply that they were a part of the Redeemer's purchase to which, were it a fit time for thinking of them, others might be added, but that they were co-extensive with the whole company of purchased ones. This company again, so described, includes Gentile Christians, for the new song sung to the Lamb when He takes the book sealed with seven seals out of the Father's hand is, "Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and didst *purchase* to God with thy blood men of *every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation*" (Chap. v. 9). Still clearer perhaps is

the language of verse 4, where a further description is given us of the 144,000: "These were purchased from among *men*," for it can hardly be necessary to say that the words "man" or "men" are always used in the Apocalypse to denote the whole human race, and not any particular section of it. Once more, it is said of the 144,000 of Chapter xiv. that they have the Lamb's name and "the name of his Father written on their foreheads" (verse 1), a trait which meets us at a later stage as characteristic of *all* the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem: "And they shall see his face, and his name shall be on their foreheads" (Chap. xxii. 4). No doubt it may be said that the language of Chapter xiv. 4, where the 144,000 of that Chapter are described as "the first fruits unto God and the Lamb," is inconsistent with our argument; but the difficulty, so far as it concerns us at present, is removed by a comparison of James i. 18: "Of his own will begat he us by the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures." No commentator doubts that these words include Gentile as well as Jewish Christians, and that it was therefore a method of conception in the early Christian Church to think of all Christians as the first-fruits of all the creatures of God (comp. Plumptre *in loc.*, and his *Introduction*, p. 38).

Putting these different considerations together, we may surely conclude that the 144,000 seen with the Lamb upon Mount Zion are a representation of all believers who have fought their fight, and are now entered upon their reward. There is among them no distinction between those of Jewish and those of Gentile birth. They are all equally Christ's purchased ones: they are all equally followers of the Lamb. But, if so, it seems absolutely necessary that we should find the same characteristics in the 144,000 who are sealed in Chapter vii.

(3) There is another sealing spoken of in the Apocalypse,

that of his own by Satan or the Beast. Thus we read, "And he causeth all, the small and the great, and the rich and the poor, and the free and the bond, that there be given them a mark on their right hand or upon their forehead; and that no man should be able to buy or to sell, save he that hath the mark" (Chap. xiii. 16, 17); to which may be added Chapters xiv. 9, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4, all of which speak of a similar "mark" imprinted on the "forehead" as in Chapter vii. 3, or on the hand. It will be observed, too, in the words which we have quoted at length, that to those who have not this mark the privileges of the Beast's kingdom, the buying and selling in the markets of the world, are denied. Now let our readers call to mind, what is probably familiar to most of them, that the style of the Apocalypse is so remarkably characterized by what may be called the principle of contrasts, that whatever is said of God's kingdom has its counterpart in the devil's, or *vice versa*, and they will at once see the use to be made of this fact. It will not be denied that the marking or sealing by the Beast is the portion of *all* ungodly ones, whether they belonged to the Jews or to the Gentile nations. The counterpart must be equally extensive. Hence the description of the 144,000 in Chapter vii. 3 as "the servants of God"; "Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we shall have sealed the servants of our God,"—not some of his servants, but "the servants," evidently implying all of them, as it is said in Chapter xix. 5, "all ye his servants."

(4) We remark that if Gentile Christians are not included in the sealing of Chapter vii. they are never sealed. It will not be contended that they are not saved; but they must be saved without being sealed. We ask any one to reflect whether such an idea is consistent with the imagery of this book. The seal is God's mark upon his own, his pledge to them that, whatever be the troubles coming upon the earth,

they "shall never perish, and no one shall pluck them out of his hand." Can we suppose them saved without having received this mark, this pledge? The whole spirit of the book compels us to answer the question in the negative. Yet, if they are not sealed in Chapter vii., they are never sealed.

We conclude, therefore, that in the first vision of the 144,000 now before us we have a representation of the whole body of Christ's believing people who are marked by Him for preservation amidst the trials that are to come upon the world. This conclusion, too, is independent of all considerations drawn from the structural principle that we have at present in view. It grounds itself upon the use of words by the writer of the Apocalypse in other passages of his book, as well as in the context of the particular passage with which we deal.

In turning now to the second picture of Chapter vii. it is not necessary to say a single word upon the universality implied in it: "After these things I saw, and behold, a great multitude, which no man could number, out of every nation, and of all tribes and peoples and tongues." Nothing can be more general. It is of more consequence to notice that in the relation of the two pictures to each other there is clearly that relation of climax which is demanded by the structural principle we are considering. The first relates to earth, the second to heaven. In the first, believers are still upon the scene of their difficulties and trials and sorrows. True, the winds are for the moment hushed. There is a pause so far at least as the sealing angels and the sealed are concerned, in order that not one of the latter may be omitted. But trial is not over. No sooner shall the sealing be completed than the storm winds will burst forth in renewed fury, and believers must again meet them, strong only in the protecting care and promises of God. How different is the scene in the second picture. All is joy and happiness, anticipation

more than realized, hope more than fulfilled. The members of that great company have had their troubles; but now trouble is for ever past: "These are they that come out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." In the first picture, they were no doubt safe, but it was amidst hungering and thirsting and tears. In the second, the idea of their safety is continued, but it is amidst circumstances of a very different kind: "They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun strike upon them, nor any heat: for the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall be their shepherd, and shall guide them unto fountains of waters of life; and God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes." The climax of the two pictures is not that of a transition from one part of the Christian Church to all its parts in their completeness. It is from the state of the Church here to her state hereafter. She is encouraged first by the assurance that, whatever troubles come upon the earth, she shall be preserved in the midst of them; and then she has a glimpse given her of that Feast of Tabernacles which she shall celebrate for ever, when her pilgrimage in this world is over, "arrayed in white robes, and palms in her hands" (verse 9).

It may be still further noticed that the climax of the two pictures of which we have been speaking is marked by the same characteristic that we have already found in the Candlestick and the Stars, and in the followers of Balaam and the Nicolaitans. The first figure connects itself with Judaism, the second with the wider range of the Gentile nations. We conclude, therefore, that in the two visions of Chapter vii. we have a double picture of the same central thought,—the preservation by the Almighty of his people whatever be their country or their age.

Other illustrations of the same structure might without

difficulty be found in the Apocalypse. The series of the Trumpet visions, in particular, may upon this principle be compared with the visions of the Seven Bowls. It will be seen that the correspondence between them is so striking as almost to compel the conclusion that they express the same general idea. Their climactic relation also will be manifest to any one who examines them with the slightest care. We may spare our readers, however, a detailed examination of these visions here, leaving it to themselves to make it, if they are of opinion that the general principle has been at least so far established by the illustrations already given.

The conclusion of the whole matter will now be obvious. Dissimilar as are the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, we seem to find in them, when they are closely examined, a mode of thought which may almost be said to be peculiar to themselves among the books of the New Testament. Each loves to present double pictures of the same object, and to do this in such a way that the second picture shall be in climax to the first. It is true that there are occasional traces of something of the same kind in St. Matthew's Gospel, a circumstance which may help to confirm our belief that it had its foundation in a special tendency of the Jewish mind. Thus in Chapter xiii. of that Gospel we have certain representations of the "kingdom of heaven" which approach at least to a double picture of it. At verse 31 it is likened to a grain of mustard seed which, when sown, "becometh a tree, so that the birds of the heaven come and lodge in the branches thereof," and in the very next verse it is likened to leaven which a woman took and hid in meal "till the whole was leavened." Again at verse 44 of the same Chapter the kingdom of heaven is compared to "a treasure hidden in the field," and at verse 45 to "a pearl of great price," for the sake of possessing which the finder in each case

went and sold all that he had. Two parables also meet us in Matthew xxv., those of the Ten Virgins and of the Talents, of which a similar remark may be made; for both evidently relate to the same subject and have an intimate relation to one another. In none of these instances, however, does the relation seem to be exactly that of the double picture. The same precise object is not looked at in both cases, though in the second with more deeply graven lines or heightened colouring. What the first Evangelist sees is rather two different aspects of the same object which must be *added* to each other if we would understand it as a whole—in the first group, the external and internal development of the kingdom of God; in the second, its worthiness to have all sacrificed for it when it is found either accidentally or after careful search; in the third, its passive and its active sides. In the double pictures of the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse there is no need of such *addition* of the two parts in order that we may see the nature of the object dealt with. In the first we see all that is in the second; only the material is not so intense and so impressive. With the exception of this approach in St. Matthew to the structural principle we have been considering, there does not appear to be anything of the kind in the other New Testament books. It is peculiar to the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse; and so far therefore it is an argument in favour of identity of authorship. There is nothing in it like what a forger writing the Gospel of St. John, with the Apocalypse already in his hand, and making an effort to spiritualise it, would be prone to imitate. It is too little on the surface, too remote, for the purposes of such imitation. Whatever may be said of it, it is at least the natural, the independent, working of the author's mind in each case; while, at the same time, it is so peculiar in itself that if, on other grounds, there be reason to suppose that the

authorship of the two books is one, it must help to confirm the supposition.

The question, how far we are entitled to make use of this method of structure as a principle of interpretation, depends of course for its answer upon the degree to which it is admitted that the structure has been established. It might have been well, therefore, to have given other illustrations of it, especially from the Fourth Gospel, had we had more ample space at our command. We might have referred to John xiii. 16, "A servant is not greater than his lord, neither one that is sent greater than he that sent him," where no one will deny that the second clause is in climax to the first. We might have referred also to John xiv. 16, compared with verse 26 of the same Chapter—the advance of thought in the second form of the promise being distinctly perceptible in several particulars; to John ix. where the second examination of the blind man, beginning at verse 24, is clearly in climax to the first; or lastly to John xviii. 33–40, the trial of Jesus before Pilate, which finds a higher counterpart in Chapter xix. 1–16. We have probably, however, illustrated the point before us at sufficient length. If, then, it be correct, it at once suggests a most important principle of interpretation, which will be found, when applied to the Apocalypse, to go far towards dispelling the mistaken idea of those who discover in that book the traces of a mind not yet emancipated from Jewish prejudices. It will help us to see that the Author of the Apocalypse is really as wide in his sympathies as is the Author of the Fourth Gospel; and that, if he appears at the first glance to look upon Jewish Christians as more privileged than Christians from among the Gentiles, he really means no more than is implied in the words of his Divine Master to the woman of Samaria, "Salvation is from the Jews" (John iv. 22).

WILLIAM MILLIGAN.

*ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN
THEIR BEARING ON OLD TESTAMENT
HISTORY.*

XVII. ESARHADDON.

THE Scriptural references to this king are comparatively scanty. In 2 Kings xix. 37; Isaiah xxxvii. 38, he is named as succeeding to the throne of Assyria on the murder of his father Sennacherib, by his brothers Adrammelech and Sharezer, who made their escape to Ararat, or Armenia. In Ezra iv. 2, the "adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" in the cities of Samaria (Ezra iv. 10), who are enumerated as "the Dinartes, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, and the Elamites," speak of themselves as having been settled in that region since the days of "Esarhaddon king of Assur," when they had been brought there by the "great and noble Asnapper," who is thus possibly identified with the king of Assyria¹ of 2 Kings xvii. 24, who "brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria." The chronology of the reign of Manasseh, king of Judah, makes it probable that he was the king of Assyria whose captains "took Manasseh among the thorns and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon" (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.)

We have to see what light these scanty notices receive from the fuller records of the Assyrian Inscriptions. The materials for such an enquiry have been brought before us in a full and exhaustive work on "The History of Esarhaddon," by Mr. Ernest A. Budge.

¹ Possibly also, however, with the Assyrian general under whom the migration was effected. The name Asnapper does not occur in any Assyrian inscription, and it is, perhaps, scarcely probable that it should have been used for Esarhaddon by writers who knew the name of that monarch.

(1) The reign of this monarch extended from B.C. 681 to B.C. 688. The earliest of his records has come down to us in a fragmentary state, and begins abruptly in the middle of a sentence. The king is engaged in a war which disturbs and alarms him. He is encouraged by the assurance of help from his country's gods, leads forth his army, pursues his enemies, and defeats them in a pitched battle in the country of Khani-rabhat.

The imperfect condition of the fragments deprives us of the names of these enemies of the Assyrian king, but both Mr. Budge (pp. 21-23) and Mr. Fox Talbot (*Records of the Past*, 101) assume that, had they been preserved, they would have been found identical with those of the two assassin brothers. There are not a few touches in the inscription which suggest this hypothesis.

"In heart I was discouraged, and was stricken down my liver.
As regards the making of the royalty of the house
of my father, the extension of my dominion,
to the gods Assur, Sin (the moon), Samas (the sun), Bel, Nabu,
Nergal,
the goddess Istar of Nineveh, (and) the goddess Istar of
Arbela
My hands I lifted up and they were kind to prayers,
By their grace established a trusting heart, they sent and said,
March! do not restrain thyself, with thy bands we march
and we abhor thy enemies."

The situation was clearly one of imminent peril. The conspiracy was widely spread. The king had to nerve himself and his army for a war from which natural impulses might have led him to shrink. He needed the assurance of a divine protection to strengthen him in his conflict against overwhelming odds.

The inscription records the perils of the campaign.

"Snow-storming in the month Sebat (=January) came the
mighty darkness,

I feared not.
 Like a *sisinni* bird flying,
 Against the officer Gab-khakh of the lands
 I opened out my forces ;
 The road to Nineveh with difficulty quickly
 I descended and
 beyond me, in the region of the country of
 Khani-rabhat, the whole of these warriors
 powerful, in front of my army placed themselves
 and girded on their weapons ;
 The fear of the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them."

The mention of the snowstorm is significant as suggesting a march in the direction of the mountainous regions of Ararat or Armenia to which the parricidal rebel-brothers had fled after their father's death (2 Kings xix. 37 ; Isa. xxxvii. 38).

(2) The next inscription bears upon the somewhat singular fact that Manasseh was carried as a prisoner to Babylon and not to Nineveh, the usual residence of the Assyrian kings (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11). Merodach Baladan, as we have seen, had proved himself a somewhat turbulent tributary, and his proposed alliance with Hezekiah (Isa. xxxix. 1) was obviously intended as an assertion of independence against his suzerain. Esarhaddon complains in an inscription (Budge, p. 27), that Nabu-zir-mapist-ezir, the son of Merodach, had acted in the same spirit.

"The gifts of a brother he presented not, and to do homage he
 approached not,
 And his ambassadors to my presence
 He sent not, and concerning the peace of my kingdom (or 'the
 health of my majesty') he asked not,
 his evil deeds within Nineveh I heard, and my heart groaned
 and was stricken down my liver."

The king despatched an army against him. He fled to Elam and was defeated there, and his brother, Nahid-Merodach—

"from the country of Elam fled and to make submission to me to the country of Assyria came, and he besought my lordship.

The sea-coast, to its whole extent, the dominion of his brother, I entrusted to him.

Yearly a sum unvarying with his numerous presents to Nineveh he came, and kissed my two feet."

The same inscription records a victory over the king of Zidon, and over Arabian rulers. It is noticeable as connecting itself with the two Scriptural instances of female sovereigns, the Queen of Sheba, and Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, that two of these are queens. (*Records of the Past*, iii. 107).

In another inscription (Budge, p. 49) the king records the overthrow of another Chaldæan and the appointment of another satrap.

"I spoiled the country of Beth-dakkuri
Which is within the land of Chaldæa, an enemy of Babylon;
I burned Samas-ibni its king,¹
A ravager wicked, not revering the memory of the lords,
Who the lands of the sons of Babylon
And Borsippa, by violence had carried away. And,
As for myself the fear of the gods, Bel and Nebo I knew.
Their lands I restored, and
to the sons of Babylon and Borsippa
I caused to be entrusted.
Nebo-sallim son of Balasu
Upon his throne I caused to be seated, and he repented of his
transgressions (qr 'he performed acts of homage')."

The reference to the king's acknowledgment of the Babylonian deities Bel and Nebo is strikingly illustrated by the title which he assumes, in conjunction with that of "the Great King, the king of Assyria," of "priest of Babylon" (Budge, pp. 17, 18). It is obvious that that

¹ Comp. Jer. xxix. 22; Dan. iii. 11, as examples of the prevalence of this mode of punishment.

character implied visits to Babylon in which he appeared as the representative of the national religion. So in a contract inscription given by Mr. George Smith in his *Assyrian Discoveries* (p. 415) he is described simply by the title of "King of Babylon." The inscriptions of Assurbani-pal, the son of Esarhaddon, shew that he had been associated in the kingdom during his father's life-time, and, as he records that he then entered upon the occupation of the palace at Riduti

"the place where Esarhaddon the father, my begetter
within it grew up, and ruled the dominion of Assyria,"

it is probable that the older king retired to the city in which he had lived during the life of his father Sennacherib, and which he had restored and fortified (Lenormant, *Ancient Hist.*, i. 406). He was, it may be noted, the only Assyrian king who thus resided at Babylon, and the narrative of 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 11, which relates that he there received the homage of Manasseh is therefore in strict accordance with the facts recorded in the inscriptions. The homage of Manasseh, however, was not confined to Babylon. One of the longest of Esarhaddon's inscriptions records the erection of a great palace at Nineveh and in this he dwells on the fact that he had gathered "twenty-two kings of the land of the Hittites" to take part in its construction (Budge, p. 79). A separate list of these kings is given in p. 103, and foremost among them we find the names of "Baal, king of Tyre," and "*Manasseh, king of Judah*," followed by those of the kings of Edom, Moab, Gaza, Askelon, Ekron, Beth-Ammon, Ashdod, Salamis, Paphos, and "Yatnan (=Cyprus) in the midst of the sea."

A list of this kind clearly implies an expedition which ended in the entire subjugation of all the countries which appear in the map of Syria. Of such an expedition we

have no direct record in Esarhaddon's own inscriptions, but in the annals of his son Assurbanipal we find it distinctly recognised, and learn that it included the conquest of Egypt, then under the Ethiopian king Tirhakah, on whose power both Hezekiah and the king of Tyre had relied (Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 321), *R. P.*, i. 58.

“Tirhakah, king of Egypt and Ethiopia
 ‘Of whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my
 father, my begetter, his overthrow had accomplished
 And had taken possession of his country.”

He had in addition appointed kings and governors in Egypt among whom it is interesting to find the name of Necho, afterwards conspicuous as invading Judah in the reign of Josiah. The twenty-two kings who were brought to the palace at Nineveh were obviously collected together to impress the Assyrians with the fact of the entire subjugation of the rebellious provinces.

(3) Of the transportation of the Babylonians, Cuthæans and other tribes to Samaria no direct record has as yet been discovered in the inscriptions. Such a measure was, perhaps, too constant a sequel of conquest to call for special notice, and Esarhaddon has left proofs that he adopted the policy of deportation to its full extent. Of all the Hittite cities, taking the word in its widest connotation, none suffered so severely as Sidon. Esarhaddon relates (*R. P.*, iii. p. 111), that he “swept away its villages and rooted up its citadel,” and further

“I carried off as my spoils,
 Men and women without number,
 Oxen and sheep and mules,
 I swept them all off to Assyria.
 I assembled the kings of Syria
 And the sea-coast, all of them.
 The city of Sidon I built anew

And I called it 'the city of Esarhaddon.'¹
Men captured by my arms, natives of the lands
And seas of the East
Within it I placed to dwell,
And I set my own officers in authority over them."

The fate reserved for the captives who had been conspicuous in their resistance is stated further on.

"I collected them;
to Assyria I carried them off,
And in front of the great entrance of Nineveh
Along with *bears*, dogs, and . . .
I left them to stay for ever."

R. P., iii. p. 3.

Those who had not resisted escaped the doom of deportation and had to bear only the lighter yoke of tribute and subjugation. Among the names of the nations thus subdued we find the Telassar of 2 Kings xix. 12; Isaiah xxxvii. 12. They had been conquered, as these Scripture references shew, by Sennacherib. It would seem that they rebelled against his son. It was natural however, that the captives who were thus brought together should be utilized. Their fate was like that of the Israelites in Egypt under the Pharaoh who "knew not Joseph." Esarhaddon determined to erect a palace that should surpass in its magnificence all that Assyria had seen.

"I caused crowds of them to work in fetters
in making bricks:
The small palace
I pulled down the whole of it,
Much earth in baskets
From the fields I brought away,

¹ The inscriptions on the rocks of the Nahr-el-kebb near Beyrouth, in which Esarhaddon describes himself as "King of Egypt, Thebes and Ethiopia," present an interesting coincidence. He records his victory in a spot near Sidon, but the victory has been really gained not over Hittites or Phœnicians, but over Egypt and Ethiopia.

And with stones of equal size
I completed the mounds."

R. P., iii. 120.

Materials as well as labour were brought from all the conquered countries. Great beams and rafters of cedar and cypress from the ranges of Sirar and Lebanon, slabs of marble and alabaster from the mountain quarries were brought to Nineveh. The doors were inlaid with cunning work of cypress and cedar, and fitted to the gateways. The characteristic features of Assyrian art, which have survived the chances and changes of more than two thousand years, were there in all their magnificence.

"Bulls and lions, carved in stone,
which with their majestic mien
deter wicked enemies from approaching,
the guardians of the footsteps, the saviours
of the paths, of the King who constructed them,
right and left I placed them
at the gates."

R. P., iii. 121.

The ornamentation of the interior reminds us of the palace of Solomon and the "ivory house" of Ahab.

"Of fine cedar-wood and ebony
I made the ceilings of the apartments.
The whole of that palace
With *veneered* slabs of ivory and *alabaster*
I embellished, and I embroidered its tapestries.
With flat roofs, like a floor of lead,
I covered the whole building,
And with plates of pure silver and bright copper
I lined the interior."

R. P., iii. 122.

Within and without it was to surpass all that had been known before.

"The mighty deeds of Asshur my lord
which in foreign hostile lands
he had done

by the skill of sculptors I erected within it.
 Cedars like those of the land of Khamana,
 which all other trees and shrubs
 excel, I planted around it.
 Its courts greatly I enlarged,
 its stalls very much improved,
 for the stabling of horses within it.
 Walls I skilfully made
 and I covered them properly.
 That great building from its foundation
 I built and I finished. I filled with beauties
 the Great Palace of my Empire,
 and I called it 'The Palace which rivals the world.' "

R. P., iii. 122.

It was dedicated with a solemn sacrifice and a gathering of many peoples. He had won his victories, as his inscriptions shew, in fighting for his country's gods, and conquering those who were worshippers of other deities.

" Ashur, Ishtar of Nineveh, and the gods of Assyria
 All of them I feasted within it.
 Victims precious and beautiful
 I sacrificed before them,
 And I caused them to receive my gifts.
 I did for those gods whatever they wished.
 The great Assembly of my kingdom,
 the chiefs, and the people of the land, all of them
 according to their tribes and cities
 on lofty seats
 I seated within it
 and I made the company joyful.
 With the wine of grapes I furnished their tables
 and I let martial music resound among them."

R. P., iii. 123.

The Assyrian, however, looks beyond the immediate present into the long vista of the years to come for himself and his successors. The character of his son Assurbani-pal, whom, as we have seen, he associated with him in the empire, might well have seemed to justify the hope

which he expresses. Such prayers have, at all events, been always prominent in the liturgies of kings.

“In the name of Ashur, king of the gods, and the gods of Assyria
all of them, with sound limbs, cheerful mind,
brightness of heart and a numerous offspring,
within it long may I continue to dwell !

And long may its glory endure !

In the . . . a fine race of horses,
mares, mules, and camels,
able to carry munitions
for a whole army, with its foreign spoils
every year without fail
May it receive them within it.

Within this Palace

May the bull ¹ of good fortune, the genius of good fortune,
the guardian of the footsteps of my majesty,
the giver of joy to my heart,
for ever watch over it ! Never more
may its care cease !

* * * * *

In future days, under the kings my sons
whom *Ashur* and *Ishtar* to the government of this land and people
shall name their names,

when this Palace

shall grow old and decay,
the man who shall repair its injuries,
and in like manner as I the tablet written
with the name of the King my father,
along with the tablet written with my own name
have placed, so do Thou ² after my example
read aloud the tablet written with my name.

Then pour a libation on the altar, sacrifice a victim,
and place it with the tablet written with thine own name,
so shall *Ashur* and *Ishtar*
hear thy prayers.”

R. P., iii. 123, 124.

What has been called the “irony of History,” what pre-

¹ The form of the guardian deity that stood in front of the entrance of the palace.

² The unknown successor after many centuries of Assyrian greatness.

sented itself to the mind of Herodotus as the Nemesis of a Divine order against those that were proud and lifted up, displayed itself here also. The greatness of Assyria culminated in the reigns of Esarhaddon and his son Assurbanipal. The conquest of Tirhakah gave him the right to style himself "King of Egypt and Ethiopia." He was also, as we have seen, not only king of Assyria, but also priest, or vicegerent, of the gods of Babylon. His son carried the boundaries still further into Arabia and Elam. Under the name of Sardanapalus he became known to the Greeks as the type of oriental magnificence and luxury. He completed the great palaces which Sennacherib and Esarhaddon had begun. His inscriptions (*R. P.*, i. 55, ix. 37, vii. 65), are among the fullest Assyrian records that are left to us; but, except in the passages already cited, they have no direct contact with Biblical history.

The reign of Assurbanipal was, however, but a short one (B.C. 668-660), and with his successor a rapid process of decadence set in. Under his elder son, Tiglath-pileser II. (660-647) Babylon became independent. Under Assurilidi (647-625) Media rose to a new unity and strength under Cyaxares, who in alliance with Nabopolassar, the Babylonian king, threatened the Assyrian empire with destruction. The invasion of the Scythian hordes who poured over Asia laid waste its provinces, while it postponed its fall for nineteen years by engaging the attention and occupying the forces of the confederate foes. Under the Grecised form of Assaracus, possibly another form of Esarhaddon, the last of the great line of Assyrian kings fell before Nabopolassar and Cyaxares, and in B.C. 606 the fate which Nahum foretold, and which Ezekiel saw in its consummation, had fallen on Nineveh and its palaces of pride. Of this king there are no extant inscriptions and those of his predecessors are meagre and few, and present no points of contact with the history of Israel.

The names of those prophets suggest, however, a passing glance at the history of Nineveh as seen from their point of view before bringing this paper to its close. The date of Nahum cannot be fixed with certainty and the range of conjecture runs from the reign of Uzziah to that of Manasseh. On the whole the balance seems to me to turn in favour of the hypothesis which makes him a contemporary of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. On this assumption he may have been among the captives of Judah who were carried to the waters of Hiddekel or came to Nineveh in the train of Manasseh, and may have seen the proud city and the stately palaces that rose upon its banks. To him it was a "city of blood." "The noise of the whip, and the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots" made harsh music in his ear (Nah. iii. 1, 2). It was a "lions' den, the feeding-place of the young lions, with victims strangled and torn in pieces, the holes filled with prey and the dens with ravin" (Nah. ii. 12).

But, as a prophet to whom God had given a faith in a righteous order, he knew that this could not last. He pointed to the fall of No-Amon, the Egyptian Thebes, which had probably occurred before the attack of the Assyrian armies on the defeat of Tirhakah by Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal, as a foreshadowing of the fall of Nineveh. She "went into captivity, her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of all her streets. They cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound with chains" (Nah. iii. 8-10). So should it be with the great Assyrian capital. She also should be drunken with the cup of the wine of the wrath of God. And "her strongholds, like fig-trees with the first-ripe fruits should fall into the mouth of the eater" (Nah. iii. 12). Her "spoil of silver and her spoil of gold, her pleasant furniture (*lit.* vessels of desire) should be the prey of her spoiler. She also should

be empty, and waste, and void, the very chaos of a city, all faces in her gathering blackness. The gates of the city should be opened, and her palaces dissolved" (Nah. ii. 6, 9, 10). The fire should devour her bars. The labours of the clay and the mortar and the brick-kiln should be fuel for the devouring flames. His last words are prophetic of the perpetual desolation which was her righteous doom: "There is no healing of thy bruise: thy wound is grievous, all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap their hands over thee, for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?" (Nah. iii. 19).

What Nahum thus saw in the future of the visions of God, Ezekiel looked upon from the banks of Chebar as brought to its completion. The doom of Assyria becomes in its turn a warning to the pride of a restored and mighty Egypt under a later Pharaoh (probably Hophra, the Apries of Herodotus). With imagery drawn, it may be, from the forest-parks and gardens in which Esarhaddon had exulted, he paints Assyria as "a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches and with a shadowing shroud, exalted above all the trees of field, and all the fowls of heaven" (symbols of the conquered nations) "making their nests in its boughs, and the beasts of the field resting under its shadow" (Ezek. xxxi. 3-6). No "tree in the garden of God" was "like to him for beauty. All the trees of Eden envied him" (*Ibid.* 8, 9). And therefore "he was cut down, his branches were fallen and his boughs broken by all the rivers of the land, and all the peoples of the earth were gone down from his shadow and had left him." He too had passed to Sheol, the dark under-world of the dead, and "Lebanon mourned for him, and the trees of the field fainted for him" (*Ibid.* 15). Assyria took its place in that region of shadows and of darkness, where the mighty ones of the past rest in their graves, waiting for the coming of yet another and another, as the giant forms of empires

founded upon wrong took their place among the things that had been.

With this survey of the history of the last of the great Assyrian kings I close this series of papers, interrupted too long by the pressure of new duties, likely now to be interrupted, had I intended to continue them, by an absence of some months from England, and therefore from materials without which I could not hope to complete them. It is some consolation to think, on this suspension of my work, that the greater part of what I contemplated at the outset has been already accomplished. The Assyrian records in their bearing upon the history of the Old Testament are, as we have seen, full of deepest interest. Those of Babylon in the period that follows under Nebuchadnezzar are comparatively, as far as is yet known, scanty and contain little beyond the chronicle of his works as the builder of that great Babylon the magnificence of which swelled his heart with pride. Those of Persia, though in the case of Darius Hystaspes, as full as any of the Assyrian, and throwing light on the internal history of the Persian monarchy, present but few direct points of contact with the history of the people of Israel. They had ceased to hold a position among the nations of the earth worthy of a place in the chronicles of a great empire. The events of the return from Babylon, the figures of Zerubbabel and Joshua the son of Jozedek, of Ezra and Nehemiah, important as they were to those whom they affected, interesting as they are to us, as preserving that people for a future revival and expansion, and for the exercise of a spiritual power greater than they had possessed in the days of their outward greatness, were as nothing to the chroniclers of Persia.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

THE USE OF THE WORD "PLEROMA" IN EPHESIANS AND COLOSSIANS.

SOMETIMES the frequent recurrence of a single word, or the use of one word in a special sense, determines largely the character of a book. In regard to such writings as those of the Apostle Paul this is particularly noticeable; and, indeed, most of his Epistles might be described by means of certain phrases oft repeated, specially used, or effectively emphasized. By carefully observing the characteristic words and phrases used in any particular Epistle, critics are able to strengthen greatly the conclusions which they reach by means of historical investigations in regard to the period at which it may have been written. If it be found that good reasons exist for assigning certain writings to one special period in the author's life, it will ordinarily follow that certain terms, reflecting the writer's circumstances and mood, will give to those writings a peculiar flavour and tone. Beyond all question those Epistles which are usually referred to the period of Paul's earlier imprisonment at Rome,—Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians,—are assimilated to one another by the common use of certain words and a preference for peculiar turns of thought rarely found in the earlier writings of the Apostle. Those peculiarities of phraseology, which give a distinctive character to this group of letters, are mainly occasioned by the influence of outward circumstances on the writer. In some cases the Apostle's own condition as a prisoner gives a tone more or less obvious to his language and to his treatment of particular subjects; and, in some cases, the position of the Church addressed, in its relation to Jewish or Pagan influences by which it might be surrounded, at once determines his vocabulary and fixes his line of thought.

The Epistle to the Colossians and the Epistle to the Ephesians are remarkably rich in terms which came to be used in a technical sense in the early philosophizing Christian schools,—terms which became fixed very definitely during the second century in the nomenclature of heretical sects, with applications wholly irreconcilable with the doctrine of the New Testament. Rationalistic commentators have fixed upon the use of these terms as proof that the Epistles in which they appear could not have been written until the heresies of which these terms became the recognized watch-words had been fully developed. It deserves, therefore, to be very

carefully considered whether such words are really used in Colossians and Ephesians in a directly polemical way, or whether we have not rather an immediately dogmatic intention which only does not exclude a subordinate polemical reference. And if it be found that the main purpose of the writer is not the demolition of existing heresy, but rather the upbuilding of believers in the true Christian faith, it may surely be concluded that the indirectness of the polemical reference points to an extremely undeveloped form of the heresy, while the emphatic dogmatic tone shews simply the earnest desire of the writer to prevent the growth of possible or threatened heresy by securing the establishment of believers in the truth. In these two Epistles the most characteristic and most frequently used terms are those which describe Christianity as the Perfect Religion,—whether the terms so used are immediately applied to Christ or to the members of his Church. The same terms generally are employed in both Epistles, because the same subject is treated of in both, though for a distinct and special purpose in each. The gospel is commended to the Ephesians and to the Colossians because it reconciles God and man in Christ. Special prominence is given in Colossians to the absolute supremacy of Christ, to his headship over all creatures: and particularly his undivided sovereignty is emphasized. In Ephesians special prominence is given to the unity of the Church in Christ: it is the One Body directed by the One Head. Yet in Colossians (*e.g.* i. 18–28) the idea of the Church is present; and in Ephesians (*e.g.* i. 21, 22) the absolute superiority of the One Christ is clearly though summarily stated. Those correlated doctrines, both of which receive ample exposition in the two Epistles viewed together, constitute the grand demonstration that Christianity is the Perfect Religion.¹ Christ—the same Christ as that set forth in Ephesians—is shewn in Colossians (ii. 9) to be the perfect embodiment of deity; and

¹ "Christianity," says Ritschl, "has made good its claim to be the perfect religion in comparison with other forms and stages thereof, for it actually affords to man that which in all the other religions is indeed striven after, but only hovers in view indistinctly and incompletely. That is the perfect religion in which the perfect knowledge of God is possible" ("Unterricht in der Christlichen Religion," § 2). That which in Ephesians and Colossians together is made known to us is God in Christ,—his perfect image and true representative (Colossians) reconciled to man, who as a member of Christ's body is received into fellowship with Himself (Ephesians). This joint result of the doctrinal contents of these Epistles constitutes that knowledge of God which only a perfect religion can afford.

every member of Christ's Church,—that Church described in Colossians as Christ's body,—is perfected and edified until he comes unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ (Ephesians iv. 13). Now the one term by which at once the completeness of Christ and the completeness of his Church are described and receive final expression in these Epistles is that word *Pleroma* (fulness), which, in the vocabulary of the Gnostic schools, appears as a term with a very special and definite signification. We shall confine ourselves to the examination of this one word and those verbal forms belonging to the same root which occur thirteen times in these two Epistles. Is the writer's use of the words signifying "fulness," or "being filled," or "completed," such that we can only regard him as writing after that Gnosticism, which made the idea of the *Pleroma* a central one, had been fully developed?

The use of this word in the Epistle to the Colossians and in the Epistle to the Ephesians will be found on examination to be quite the same. In Colossians the word *Pleroma* is immediately applied to Christ, and occurs in two almost identical passages. In Chapters i. 19, ii. 9, it clearly means the full complement of the powers of deity; and "all" is added in both passages, not because fulness can be in any way incomplete, but to emphasize the truth that Christ in Himself, and not as one of an order, constitutes this fulness. In Ephesians the word *Pleroma* has a seeming twofold use, which, however, is really one.¹ Thus Chapter i. 23 describes the

¹ Pfeiderer, on the contrary, maintains that *Pleroma* has quite a different meaning in Ephesians from that which it has in Colossians. "There (in Colossians) it is a dogmatic notion, and refers to the fulness of the Godhead, of the Divine power to save, the dwelling of which in Christ gave Him his position as head over all things in the universe and in the community; but in our epistle (Ephesians) it is an ethical notion, the sense of which varies indeed in particular points, but is nowhere that of Col. i. 19 and ii. 9" ("Paulinism," vol. ii p. 172). The use of the word *Pleroma* is elaborately discussed in the pages following that quoted; and the author seeks to emphasize the distinction between a Christological reality and an ethical ideal. This is done in the interest of Pfeiderer's contention against Hitzig and Holtzmann. These last-named hold that the Epistle to the Colossians was revised; at least the first two chapters being inserted in opposition to the later Gnostics, and so far Pfeiderer agrees. He refuses, however, with them to identify this reviser with the writer of Ephesians. The distinction which he insists upon between the use of *Pleroma* in Ephesians and Colossians is intended to support the view of independent authorship. Apart from such a preconception, it should not surely be hard to find a deep and satisfactory ground on which dogmatic truths and ethical principles might meet.

Church as Christ's fulness, and so Chapter iv. 13 represents Christ's fulness as the measure of Christian attainment; while in Chapter iii. 19 we have the Christian's advancement unto the knowledge of Christ's love described as a being filled with the fulness of God. Now evidently in all these three passages Christ is understood to be the fulness of God according to the passages in Colossians and this last in Ephesians. This fulness of God is Christ's fulness, and becomes theirs who are Christ's. Thus, in every instance in which the word *Pleroma* is used in Colossians and Ephesians, the meaning that Christ is Himself the complete embodiment of the Divine powers is either expressly stated or is by immediate necessity assumed. The use of the term as thus analysed indicates on the part of the writer the attainment of very deep and comprehensive theological views.

Now it is perhaps not to be wondered at that often this depth of theological insight on the part of the writer, or writers, of these Epistles should have been mistaken for the elaborate exposition of a Christian Gnosis in opposition to a heretical Gnosis already fully developed. Certainly we find the view prevailing among German critics that neither Ephesians, nor Colossians as we now have it, could have come from the hand of Paul, because, according to their understanding of the writer's use of such terms as those referred to above, we must assume the contemporary existence of the heresies by which the middle of the second century is characterized. This notion has taken so firm a hold, that even outside of the old tendency-school of Tübingen, among critics like Hitzig, and Weiss, and Holtzmann, who admit portions of Colossians to be undoubtedly the work of Paul, it is yet energetically maintained that those passages in which terms common to the Gnostic schools are used must be regarded as interpolations made by one who lived in the second century, to whose revision at least the first two chapters of the Epistle must be credited. With characteristic confidence Hitzig affirms that the reviser of Colossians was the writer of Ephesians; but beyond the assurance that he knows it, and that it is clear as day, he offers us no proof. (See the whole hypothesis put in a most interesting and summary way: "*Zur Kritik Paulinischer Briefe*," S. 26.) If, however, we find no ground for the supposition of a twofold authorship in the case of Colossians; if, after carefully considering the earlier chapters in their relation to the later, we still feel ourselves entitled to maintain the integrity of

the Epistle; then we may claim the support of Hitzig's faculty for recognizing similarities of style in proving that Ephesians and Colossians came from the same hand. Pfeiderer indeed rejects the idea of one author for both Epistles; but he seems to have no other argument than this, that the end in view in the one Epistle is different from that in the other. Had they had the same end in view, this would have proved the writer of the one to be only a weak imitator of the other: but as they have different ends in view, this shews the authors to be different. Thus the critics differ as to whether they should regard the writer of Colossians and the writer of Ephesians as one; but they agree in assigning the authorship of both to the middle of the second century, when the Gnostic system had reached its full development. "It was not," says Holtzmann, "till the beginning of the second century that attempts were made on an extensive scale to give to Christianity the form and fashion of an ascetic theosophy of the Jewish stamp; and the earliest data for resistance to those attempts are found in the interpolated Epistle to the Colossians. The existence of a false doctrine according to which the *Pleroma* was not concentrated in Christ, but spread over the whole upper world of spirits, is as improbable in the age of the Apostles as it is natural in the age of Gnosticism." ("Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosser-briefe," S. 291.) In these two sentences we have a summary at once of the grounds or principles, and of the conclusions of this whole school of critics, regarding the date and authorship of these two Epistles. All such critics either assume, or endeavour to prove, that both in Ephesians and in Colossians direct allusion is made to Jewish-ascetic religious philosophy, and also that the polemical passages in these Epistles are so directly controversial in their tone that the writers must have had before them the fully developed form of the heresy which belongs to the second century. Holtzmann too has perceived that the controversy circles round the idea of the *Pleroma*. In an investigation regarding the word *Pleroma*, and the idea represented by it, our interest is not with the ascetic element in the Jewish theosophy which may have influenced and endangered the purity of early Christianity, but rather with those tendencies to a fantastic angelology which were generally to be found side by side with the enforcement of ascetic practices. With the usual dogmatism of his school, Holtzmann affirms the improbability, which according to his use of it really amounts to the impossibility, of the notion

appearing in any measure during the Apostolic Age of a distribution of the divine power among several ministering agencies. But this is by no means so evident that we are prepared to accept the statement without investigation. If we consider the character and prevailing doctrinal conceptions of the various Jewish sects with which more or less closely the members of the early Christian Churches must have been brought into contact, we shall, perhaps, be led to admit that speculations and doctrinal views in the Church may have, in some quarters, at a very early period, received a certain colour which under favourable circumstances of locality, or race, might deepen in its hue until the original tint had become scarcely traceable. That the earliest Christian Churches were in close relation to various Jewish sects is undeniable. Out of these Jewish schools many of the first Christian converts were brought. The Christian Church, on the other hand, exerted a mighty influence upon some of the more earnest and devout of these Jewish religious societies; notably in the case of the Essenes who, partially before, and as a body immediately after, the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70, entered the Christian fellowship and marked their presence in it by the Ebionistic views which prevailed among them. Of the Jewish influences at work we shall have more to say presently.

The point with which we are just now directly concerned is the determining of the question whether the tone of those Epistles most naturally suggest the Apostolic Age or the second century as the date of their writing. Is the use made of the word *Pleroma* by the writer of Colossians and the writer of Ephesians, such as we might expect from one face to face with an elementary undeveloped tendency to the honouring of angels, thus endangering the position of the one Mediator between God and man? Or is it such as we might expect to be used against the elaborate systems of error which during the second century appear linked with the names of Valentinus and other leaders of highly speculative genius? In order that one may satisfy himself as to the extreme improbability of such passages as we have in Colossians and Ephesians, where the *Pleroma* is spoken of, having been written in the second century, we need only refer to the highly wrought systems of that later age. When we consider the elaborate mythology of the Valentinian Gnostics (see a brilliant and singularly clear exposition of their strange, yet, in part, beautiful and truly poetic fantasies, in

Pressensé, "Heresy and Christian Doctrine," Bk. I. Ch. i. § 2), we must surely acknowledge that the mere allusions, which we find in these Epistles, to a doctrine of angels which threatens to partition the work and office of Christ, would be an extremely inadequate and unsatisfactory way of dealing with a philosophical speculation that scarcely retained for the Christ any place at all. Indeed it is most noticeable that in these Epistles we are never led back to any philosophical theory which is understood to be the ground of the erroneous views, which surely would have been the case had there been any polemical intention against an elaborated system. It is clearly something quite unformed, something with no elaborate philosophical basis, that is opposed in our Epistles. If reference be made to the enumeration of spiritual powers in Colossians i. 16 and Ephesians i. 21, it may not be denied that there is an allusion here to the seeds of those Gnostic doctrines which by and by were elaborated into a system, but of the system itself there is no trace. As Reuss remarks ("Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments," § 123), the Gnostic elements in such passages as these are old enough and Jewish enough to have been known to Paul when he wrote his Epistles to the Romans and to the Corinthians, the genuineness of which are unquestioned. (See Rom. viii. 38; 1 Cor. xv. 24.) The ages (æons αἰῶνες) are mentioned indeed in Ephesians ii. 7, iii. 21, yet they are not personified as mediating beings, nor is there any polemical reference to such creations. And, further, although the word *Pleroma* is used in Colossians and Ephesians, and occurs also in the system of Valentinus, the term only is common to the Epistles and to the Gnostic system. The idea in the one case is altogether different from that in the other. Its use in the Epistles affords no hint that the writer had any notion of its technical significance in the vocabulary of Gnosticism. The doctrine of the *Pleroma* in the Epistles,—the doctrine that Christ bears in Himself the fulness of the divine powers, as εἰκὼν and λόγος, is as old as Christianity itself.

Its being thus evident that no instance can be found in these Epistles of an unquestionable technical use of such terms as became strictly technical in the Gnostic systems of the second century, we must enquire regarding the traces that are discovered of that in the Apostolic Age which might have suggested the use, and warranted the application, of such phrases. And first of all we may

call attention to the doctrine of angels which Paul himself adopted from the Jews, and mark the limits within which this doctrine was confined. As we have already seen, he recognized several classes among the spiritual powers (Rom. viii. 38; Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16), yet he refuses, as is apparent from the variations in his lists, to lend any support to the elaborate classifications which were characteristic of Jewish angelology. Such attempts at minute classification, endeavours to arrange the heavenly powers in ranks according to distinctions of dignity and service, would almost with certainty lead to the worshipping of those powers reckoned most glorious. A certain influence, also, we find allowed to the angels, as in some way assisting in the communication of the Mosaic law (Gal. iii. 19); yet the writer is very careful to avoid the conclusion to which a Jew might, at this point, be tempted to come, that these angels should be ranked alongside of Moses, the lawgiver, and so alongside of Him who was the prophet raised up like unto Moses. These angels, the Apostle urges in the passage from Galatians above referred to, are not properly mediators at all, for the mediator must be human, handling the law, bearing it in his hands. Whatever service the angels render, and far from denying that they render service, the Apostle emphatically affirms it, that service did not consist in bringing the law to us as mediators between us and God: this service was rendered by a mediator who bore the law in his hands, that is, by one not of the angelic race. Now here we have undoubtedly certain tendencies which must have been present among Jewish Christians, tendencies to shew an excessive reverence for the angels. And very naturally, just on this very question of the Mediator, those who came under Jewish influences would be tempted to find for the angels a place alongside of Christ, the one Mediator recognized by Paul. What more reasonable than the statements regarding Christ's *Pleroma* as addressed to those who were tempted thus to picture to themselves other beings as sharers with the Christ of the divine fulness? And probably we may find still further a point of contrast between the Jewish exaggeration of the doctrine of angels and incipient Gnosticism in the early Christian Church, in an undue emphasis in the expression of a view countenanced by the inspired Apostles, that good angels are the special guardians of the believers. This was the correlate of that old Jewish belief that evil angels were the Lords of heathendom. An exaggerated statement of this doctrine of guardian angels would

necessarily lead to angel worship. Even had there been nothing more to combat than these tendencies, which from the earlier Epistles of Paul we thus find to have been already at work, we should have enough to warrant all the allusions to Gnostic doctrines that are to be found in the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians. In presence of such tendencies proved from Scripture to have existed in the time of Paul, we have a sufficient explanation of the doctrine of the Pleroma now under investigation.

This view, however, may be yet further confirmed when we consider the hints that we have from other quarters of the actual current of thought which prevailed in influential circles during the infancy of the Christian Church. Within a comparatively recent period an important witness has been discovered in the person of Hippolytus. This distinguished theologian, living in the first half of the third century, tells us that the heresies which were openly maintained in the beginning of the second century, had been secretly spreading, and finding considerable favour during the preceding age. "This hydra," he says, speaking of those second century heresies, "which casts forth so many blasphemies against Christ, has been crouching in the dark for many years." (See Pressensé, "Apostolic Age," Bk. II. ch. iv. § 2.) Among scholars there is not yet perfect agreement as to the personality of the originator of this early Gnosticism of the Apostolic Age. Yet more and more it is being recognized that Simon Magus, a contemporary of the Apostles, referred to very doubtfully in Scripture, and bearing in early Church history a still more doubtful reputation, deserves to be styled the first Apostle of Gnosticism. Ueberweg, in his "History of Philosophy," speaks with hesitation, holding that it is quite uncertain how far the beginning of Gnosticism may be attributed to him, and that certainly much has been unhistorically attributed to him that belongs to Paul and to later individuals; but that a sect bearing his name undoubtedly sprang up, under the influence of which came both Saturninus and Basilides. Reuss even ventures to say that the view, which has prevailed since Irenæus, representing Simon as the first Gnostic, is no longer even a hypothesis, but a fable. On the other hand, those who have given attention to the writings of Hippolytus, in part contemporary with Irenæus, find the earlier Father's statements fully confirmed, and many particulars given that leave no doubt as to the fact of Simon Magus' immediate and powerful influence on the religious philosophy of his day. As

represented in Hippolytus, the doctrine of angels in its most exaggerated Jewish form reappeared, embellished with further theories of emanation, crude and undigested, yet quite sufficient to call forth such opposition as we find offered in Colossians. (For references to Apocryphal, Gnostic, and Patristic works shewing the prominence given to angelology under Jewish influences, see Lightfoot, in note on Colossians ii. 18.)

Besides these instances, and contemporary and sufficiently trustworthy historical evidences of the early prevalence of elementary Gnostic doctrines in and around the Christian Churches, we have further confirmation of the views already expressed from the national temperament of the people addressed. That such theories regarding angels should have prevailed just in Colosse, a leading city of Phrygia, and should have assumed a form at a very early period, need not surprise us when we consider the excitable character of the Phrygians and their tendency to mysticism. Later on we find Montanism taking a strong hold upon this people, and the synod which met at the Phrygian city of Laodicea about the middle of the fourth century, warned the Christians (Canon 34) against the worship of false martyrs; and the very next Canon forbids Christians to forsake the Church of God and turn to the worship of angels. In the century following the meeting of this synod, and notwithstanding those repeated warnings given, we learn from Theodoret, in his Commentary on Colossians ii. 18, that in his time there were "Michael Churches" in Phrygia and Pisidia. On this Canon, Hefele, although as a Roman Catholic he vindicates what he calls a regulated worship of angels, remarks: "The basis of this worship of angels was the idea that God was too high to be immediately approached, but that his goodwill must be gained through the angels."¹ This, then, the prevailing tendency of the Phrygian churches,—the tendency to multiply mediators and thus to deprive the Christ of that absolute undivided supremacy which the true Scripture doctrine requires,—is just that in opposition to which such a doctrine would be most appropriate as that of the Pleroma in Colossians and Ephesians, setting forth clearly this vital doctrine of the divine fulness dwelling bodily in the incarnate Saviour.

In regard to the Apostle's use of the word *Pleroma* there is just one question more which we must endeavour to answer. There

¹ Hefele, "History of Church Councils," vol. ii. p. 817.

can be no doubt that in Colossians the divine fulness is ascribed not to the pre-existent Christ, nor yet to the glorified Christ, but to the incarnate Saviour in his earthly life of humiliation. It is of the eternal Son of God become man that this is predicated—which would be a truism if applied to Him in his pre-existent or exalted state—that He is the fulness of the divine power. Does such a representation agree with the general course of Pauline doctrine, and particularly is it reconcilable with the doctrine of Paul as set forth in Philippians ii. 6-11? Pfeiderer¹ insists that, while this is evidently the meaning of the passage in Colossians, it is in direct opposition to Pauline doctrine, and in immediate contradiction to the representation given in Philippians of the earthly life of Christ as a condition of humiliation and emptiness. He thinks that the Christology of Colossians goes beyond even that of Hebrews, and corresponds with that of John. According to Pfeiderer, Philippians is the last writing of Paul, and represents the fullest and most mature stage of his doctrine; and in that Epistle, he maintains, we have the subordination of Christ to the Father most emphatically expressed. Entertaining such a view of the passage in Philippians, we are not surprised to find that the idea of the divine fulness belonging to the earthly Christ is described as thoroughly un-Pauline. In answer to all this we can only repudiate the exegesis of the Philippian text above proposed, and affirm its perfect agreement, when fairly interpreted, with the Christ-honouring doctrine of Colossians. The Apostle very distinctly regards equality with God—that is the full display and exercise of all the attributes of God—as something which the Christ, even in the hour of his deepest humiliation, might have asserted by a mere act of will. He voluntarily shut himself off from the exercise of these forms of the divine power, and his act of will in doing so was itself the most glorious forthputting of the divine power; and upon this continued presence of the divine fulness, under a new and special form, and through emptying Himself of that other form, depended the efficacy of his work as our redeemer. When thus understood, the true Pauline doctrine of the *Pleroma* is traceable as distinctly in the view given of the *Kenosis* in Philippians, as in the glowing description of the Saviour's dignity and mighty power in Colossians and Ephesians.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

¹ Compare Pfeiderer, "Paulinism," vol. i. pp. 145, 146, and vol. ii. p. 104.

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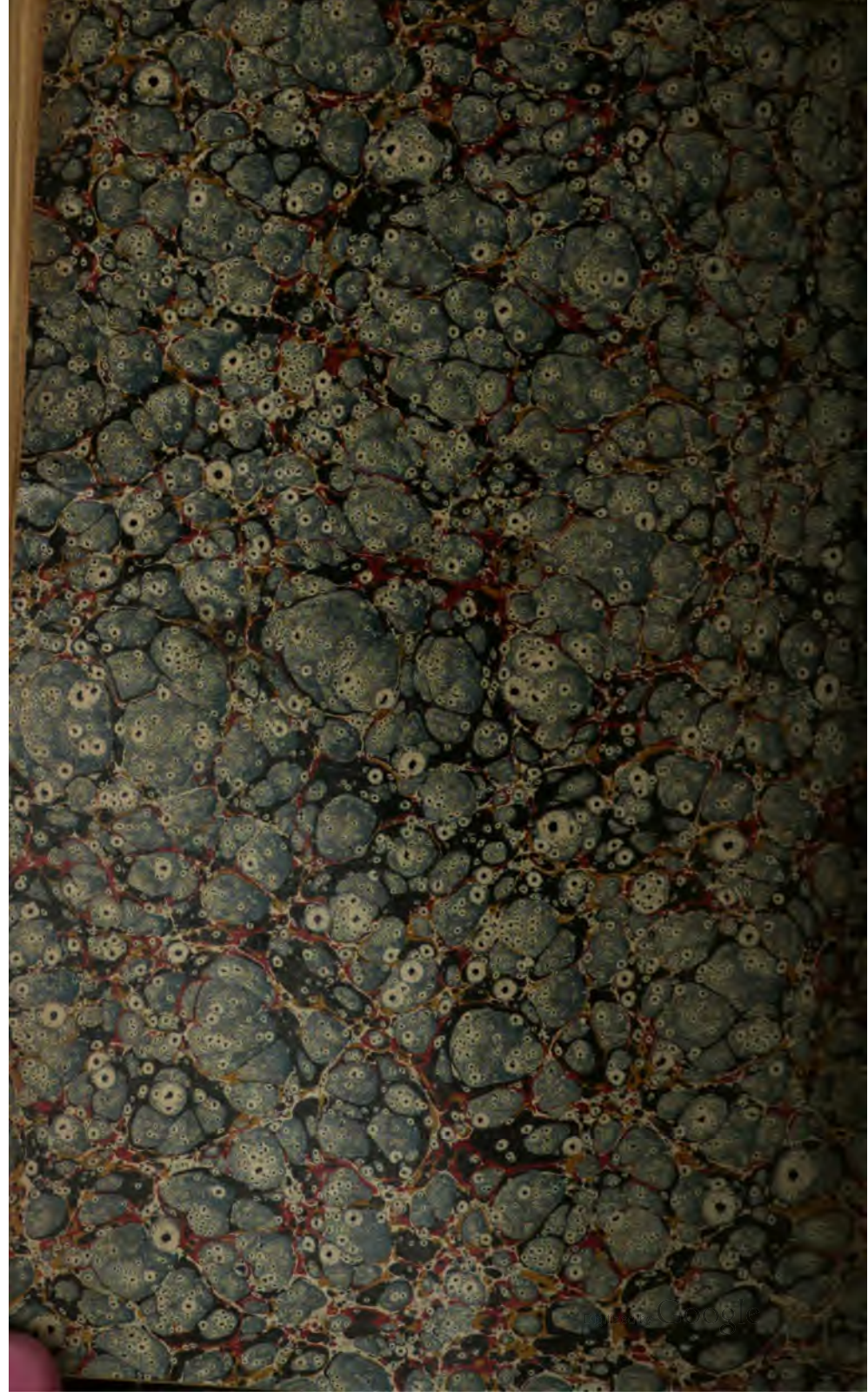
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